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BATTLE OF ROSSBACH

Germany, Frontispiece, vol. three.

GERMANY

FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIOD

BY

WOLFGANG MENZEL

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION

By MRS. GEORGE HORROCKS

WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER OF RECENT EVENTS

By EDGAR SALTUS

VOLUME III

NEW YORK

PETER FENELON COLLIER & SON

MCM

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

GERMANY

VOL. III.

Frontispiece—Battle of Rossbach
King William I.
Battle of Hohenfriedberg

THE HISTORY OF GERMANY

PART XVII

WAR OF LIBERATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

CXCVIII. *Preponderance of the Spaniards and Jesuits—Courtly Vices*

THE false peace concluded at Augsburg was immediately followed by Charles V.'s abdication of his numerous crowns. He would willingly have resigned that of the empire to his son Philip, had not the Spanish education of that prince, his gloomy and bigoted character, inspired the Germans with an aversion as unconquerable as that with which he beheld them. Ferdinand had, moreover, gained the favor of the German princes. Charles, nevertheless, influenced by affection toward his son, bestowed upon him one of the finest of the German provinces, the Netherlands, besides Spain, Milan, Naples, and the West Indies (America). Ferdinand received the rest of the German hereditary possessions of his house, besides Bohemia and Hungary. The aged emperor, after thus dividing his dominions, went to Spain and entered the Hieronymite monastery of Justus, where he lived for two years, amusing himself, among other things, with an attempt to make a number of clocks keep exact time; on failing, he observed, "Watches are like men." His whim for solemnizing his own funeral service proved fatal; the dampness of the coffin in which he lay during the ceremony brought on a cold, which terminated a few days afterward in death, A.D. 1558. Charles, although dexterous in the conduct of petty intrigues,

was entirely devoid of depth of intellect, and ever misunderstood his age; magnanimous in some few instances, he was unendowed with the greatness of character that had empowered Charlemagne to govern and to guide his times. Possessed of far greater power than that magnificent emperor, the half of the globe his by inheritance, he might, during the thirty years of his reign, have molded the great Reformation to his will; notwithstanding which, he left at his death both the church and state in far more wretched disorder than at his accession to the throne of Germany. Frederick III. was too dull of intellect to rule a world; Charles V. was too cunning. He overlooked great and natural advantages, and buried himself in petty intrigue. Luther remarked of him during his youth, "He will never succeed, for he has openly rejected truth, and Germany will be implicated in his want of success." Time proved the truth of this opinion. The insufficiency of the Reformation was mainly due to this emperor.

Ferdinand I., opposed in his hereditary provinces by a predominating Protestant party, which he was compelled to tolerate, was politically overbalanced by his nephew, Philip II., in Spain and Italy, where Catholicism flourished. The preponderance of the Spanish over the Austrian branch of the house of Habsburg exercised the most pernicious influence on the whole of Germany, by securing to the Catholics a support which rendered reconciliation impossible, to the Spaniards and Italians admittance into Germany, and by falsifying the German language, dress, and manners.

The religious disputes and petty egotism of the several Estates of the empire had utterly stifled every sentiment of patriotism, and not a dissentient voice was raised against the will of Charles V., which bestowed the whole of the Netherlands, one of the finest of the provinces of Germany, upon Spain, the division and consequent weakening of the powerful house of Habsburg being regarded by the princes with delight.

At the same time that the power of the Protestant party

was shaken by the peace of Augsburg, Cardinal Caraffa mounted the pontifical throne as Paul IV., the first pope who, following the plan of the Jesuits, abandoned the system of defence for that of attack. The Reformation no sooner ceased to progress than a preventive movement began. The pontiffs, up to this period, were imitators of Leo X., had surrounded themselves with luxury and pomp, had been, personally, far from bigoted in their opinions, and had opposed the Reformation merely from policy, neither from conviction nor fanaticism. But the Jesuits acted, while the popes negotiated; and this new order of ecclesiastics, at first merely a papal tool in the council of Trent, ere long became the pontiff's master. An extraordinary but extremely natural medley existed in the system and the members of this society of Jesus. The most fervent attachment to the ancient faith, mysticism, ascetic extravagance, the courage of the martyr, nay, desire for martyrdom, reappeared in their former strength the moment the church was threatened; the passions, formerly inspiriting the crusader, burst forth afresh to oppose, not, as in olden times, the sensual pagan and Mahometan, but the stern morality and well-founded complaints of the nations of Germany, to which a deaf ear was turned; and religious zeal, originally pure, but now misled by a foul policy, indifferent alike to the price and to the means by which it gained its aim, sought to undermine the Reformation. Among the Jesuits there were saints equalling in faith the martyrs of old; poets overflowing with philanthropy; bold and unflinching despots; smooth-tongued divines, versed in the art of lying. The necessity for action, in opposing the Reformation, naturally called forth the energies of the more arbitrary and systematic members of the order, and threw the dreamy enthusiasts in the shade. Nationality was also another ruling motive. Was the authority of the foreigner, so long exercised over the German, to be relinquished without a struggle? This nationality, moreover, furnished an excuse for immoral inclinations and practices, for all that was unworthy of the Master they nom-

inally served. The attempts for reconciliation made by both parties in the church no sooner failed, and the moderate Catholic party in favor of peace and of a certain degree of reform lost sight of its original views, than the whole sovereignty of the Catholic world was usurped by this order. The pope was compelled to throw himself into its arms, and Paul IV., putting an end to the system pursued by his predecessors, renounced luxury and license, publicly cast off his nephews, and zealously devoted himself to the Catholic cause. At the same time he was, notwithstanding the similarity in their religious opinions, at war with Philip of Spain, being unable, like his predecessors, to tolerate the temporal supremacy of the Spaniard in Naples. Rome, besieged by the duke of Alba, was defended by German Protestants, and the pope was reduced to the necessity of seeking aid from the Turk and the French. Peace was concluded, A.D. 1557. Philip afterward treated the pope with extreme reverence, and confederated with him for the restoration of the church.

The settlement of the Jesuits throughout the whole of Catholic Germany was the first result of this combination. William, duke of Bavaria, granted to them the university of Ingolstadt, where Canisius of Nimwegen, the Spaniard, Salmeron, and the Savoyard, Le Jay, were the first Jesuitical professors. Canisius drew up a catechism strictly Catholic, the form of belief for the whole of Bavaria, on which, A.D. 1561, all the servants of the state were compelled to swear, and to which, at length, every Bavarian subject was forced, under pain of banishment, to subscribe. This example induced the emperor Ferdinand to invite Canisius into Austria, where Lutheranism had become so general that by far the greater number of the churches were either in the hands of the Protestants or closed, and for twenty years not a single Catholic priest had taken orders at the university of Vienna. Canisius was at first less successful in Austria than he had been in Bavaria, but nevertheless effected so much that even his opponents declared that without him the whole

of Southern Germany would have ceased to be Catholic.[1] Cardinal Otto, bishop of Augsburg, a Truchsess von Waldburg, aided by Bavaria, compelled his diocesans to recant, and founded a Jesuitical university at Dillingen. In Cologne and Treves the Jesuits simultaneously suppressed the Reformation and civil liberty. Coblentz was deprived of all her ancient privileges, A.D. 1561, and Treves, A.D. 1580.

Ferdinand I. was in a difficult position. Paul IV. refused to acknowledge him on account of the peace concluded between him and the Protestants, whom he was unable to oppose, and whose tenets he refused to embrace, notwithstanding the expressed wish of the majority of his subjects. Like his brother, he intrigued and diplomatized until his Jesuitical confessor, Bobadilla, and the new pope, Pius IV., again placed him on good terms with Rome, A.D. 1559. He also found a mediator in Carlo Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, who had gained a high reputation for sanctity by his fearless and philanthropic behavior during a pestilence, and who was, moreover, a zealous upholder of the external pomp of the church and of public devotion.

Augustus, elector of Saxony, the brother of Maurice, alarmed at the fresh alliance between the emperor and the pope, convoked a meeting of the Protestant leaders at Naumburg. His fears were, however, allayed by the peaceful proposals of the emperor, A.D. 1561, and, in point of fact, the fitting moment for another attempt at reconciliation had arrived. The great leaders of the Reformation were dead, the zeal of their successors had cooled or they were at variance with one another. Disgust had driven several theologians back to the bosom of the Roman Church. The emperor, and even Albert of Bavaria, William's successor, were willing to concede marriage to the priests, the sacrament under both forms to the people, the use of the German tongue in the church service, and several other points, for the sake of terminating the schism in the church; and even

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[1] He was in consequence mockingly termed "canis Austriacus"

the pope, through his talented nuncio, Commendone, made several extremely touching representations to the assembly at Naumburg. All was vain. Commendone was treated with great indignity by the assembled Protestants. His subsequent attempt to gain the princes over one by one also failed, Brandenburg alone giving him a favorable reception. The assembly at Naumburg was, nevertheless, extremely peaceful in comparison with the convocation held simultaneously at Luneburg, where the strictest Lutherans, the pope's most irreconcilable foes, chiefly preachers from the Hanse towns, had assembled. John Frederick, duke of Weimar, had also separated himself from the meeting at Naumburg, through hatred of the electoral house.

The reconciliation so ardently hoped for by the moderate party on both sides was no longer possible. The schism had been too much widened ever again to close. The Protestants, instead of awaiting a general discussion of ecclesiastical matters by a council, had, on their own responsibility, founded a new church with new ceremonies and tenets. The Catholics had, on their side, placed the council not over the pope, but the pope over the council, in order to give themselves a head and greater unity, and this council, led by the Jesuits, had already passed several resolutions to which the Protestants could not accede. Neither party would retract lest more might be lost, and each viewed the other with the deepest distrust. Leonhard Haller, bishop of Eichstadt, said in the council, "It is dangerous to refuse the demands of the Protestants, but much more so to grant them." Both parties shared this opinion, and resolved to maintain the schism. A last attempt to save the unity of the German church, in the event of its separation from that of Rome, was made by Ferdinand, who convoked the spiritual electoral princes, the archbishops and bishops, for that purpose to Vienna, but the consideration with which he was compelled to treat the pope rendered his efforts weak and ineffectual; those made by Albert of Bavaria, independently of the Protestants, in the council, for the abolition or restriction of the

most glaring abuses in the church, were more successful, although the whole of his demands were not conceded. The council clearly perceived the necessity of raising the fallen credit of the clergy by the revival of morality. A number of abuses in this respect, more particularly the sale of indulgences, were abolished; the local authority of the bishops was restored, and the arbitrary power of the legates restricted; a catechism for the instruction of the Catholics was adopted in imitation of that published by the Lutherans, and, by the foundation of the Order of Jesus, talent and learning were once more to be spread among the monastic orders. But the council also drew the bonds of ancient dogmatism closer than ever, by its confirmation of the supremacy of the pope and of his infallibility in all ecclesiastical matters. "Cursed be all heretics!" exclaimed the cardinal of Lorraine at the conclusion of the council, which re-echoed his words with thunders of applause, A.D. 1563. Pius IV., who closed the council, and, by his reconciliation with the emperor and with Spain, had weakened the opposition of the hierarchy and strengthened that of the Protestants, was succeeded by Pius V., a blind zealot, who castigated himself, and, like Philip in Spain, tracked the heretics in the State of the Church by means of the Inquisition, and condemned numbers to the stake.

The Protestants, blind to the unity and strength resulting from the policy of the Catholics, weakened themselves more and more by division. The Reformed Swiss were almost more inimical to the Lutherans than the Catholics were, and the general mania for disputation and theological obstinacy produced divisions among the Reformers themselves. When, in 1562, Bullinger set up the Helvetic Confession, to which the Pfalz also assented, in Zurich, Basel refused and maintained a particular Confession. A university, intended by Ferdinand I. as a bulwark against the Reformation, was founded by him at Besançon, then an imperial city, A.D. 1564.

Ferdinand expired, A.D. 1564, and was succeeded on the imperial throne by his son, Maximilian II., who had gained

great popularity throughout Germany by his inclination to favor the Lutherans; but, unstable in character, he committed the fault of granting religious liberty to his subjects without embracing Lutheranism himself, and consequently exposed them to the most fearful persecution under his successor. No one ever more convincingly proved how much more half friendship is to be dreaded than utter enmity.

The empire was, at this period, externally at peace. France, embroiled by the Catholics and Huguenots, was governed by a female monster, the widow of Henry II., the Italian, Catherine de Medicis, who, sunk in profligacy, and the zealous champion of the ancient church, reigned in the name of her sons, Francis II. and Charles IX. The Huguenots turned for relief to Germany. In 1562, six thousand Hessians, and, in 1567, the Pfalzgraf, John Casimir, with seventeen thousand men, marched to their aid. The queen was, on her side, assisted by the Swiss Catholics, and, to his eternal disgrace, by John William, duke of Weimar, who sent a reinforcement of five thousand men. John Casimir reaped still deeper shame by his acceptation of a royal bribe, and his consequent desertion of the Huguenots.

The Turks also left the empire undisturbed. They were opposed in Hungary by an imperial army under Castaldo, which, instead of defending, laid the country waste. The monk, George Mertenhausen (Martinuzzi), was more influential by his intrigues. On the death of Zapolya, to whom he had acted both as temporal and spiritual adviser, he found himself at the head of affairs in Hungary, and proposed a marriage, which never took place, between Zapolya's son, John Sigismund, and one of Ferdinand's daughters. His first condition was the emancipation of the peasantry by the emperor, on the grounds that "the Turks offered liberty to the Hungarian serfs, and thereby induced numbers to apostatize, and, in this apostacy from Christianity, those alone who tyrannized over the peasantry were to blame." Ferdinand naturally refused to listen to these remonstrances, and George was shortly afterward accused of a treacherous corre-

spondence with the Turks, and was murdered by Castaldo's braves. The pope, who had shortly before presented him, at Ferdinand's request, with a cardinal's hat, merely observed on this occasion, "He ought either to have been less strongly recommended or not to have been assassinated." The Hungarians, roused to desperation by the tyranny of Castaldo, and by the devastation committed by his soldiery, at length attacked him, killed the greater part of his men, and declared in favor of John Sigismund Zapolya. This demonstration was rendered still more effective by an invasion of Carniola by the Turks, A.D. 1559. Maximilian II., on his accession to the throne, purchased peace by an annual tribute of 300,000 guilders, and by the recognition of John Sigismund as prince of Transylvania. The sultan infringed the treaty; the peace of Germany, nevertheless, remained undisturbed, the gray-headed sultan expiring before the walls of Sigeth, which were gallantly defended, to the immortal honor of his nation, by the Hungarian, Nicolas Zriny. The Turks withdrew, and were kept in check by Lazarus Schwendi, an old and experienced general of the time of Charles V.

Maximilian, insensible to the advantages presented by the peaceful state of the empire, and incapable of guiding events, merely ventured upon a few timid steps that might easily be retraced. After having, in 1565, invited Pius IV. to abrogate the celibacy of the clergy, against which he protested, his next step should have been the prosecution of the Reformation independent of the pope; instead of which, unconscious of the deadly suspicion and of the dark assassin that dogged his every step, he used his utmost efforts to preserve amicable relations with him, while, on the other hand, he granted the free exercise of their religion to the Austrian nobility, and to the cities of Linz, Steyer, Enns, Wels, Freistadt, Gmunden, and Vœcklabruck, and tolerated the introduction of the new Protestant church into Austria by Chytræus von Rostock, A.D. 1568. He afterward allowed the Bible to be translated for the use of the Slavonians in Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria, and protected, even in

Vienna, the Protestants as well as the Jesuits, on one occasion bestowing a box on the ear on his son, afterward the emperor Rudolf II., for having attacked a Protestant church at the instigation of the Jesuits. Half measures of this description were exactly calculated to excite the revenge of the young emperor on the decease of his father. Had Maximilian embraced the Lutheran faith, or, at all events, extended freedom in religious matters indifferently to every class, had he sanctioned it by a solemn decree, and placed it under the guarantee of the rest of Protestant Germany, his concessions would have met with a blessed result and have defied the sovereign's caprice, instead of acting, as they eventually did, as a curse upon those among his subjects, who, under his protection, demonstrated their real opinions, and were, consequently, marked as victims by his fanatical successor. He also tolerated the grossest papacy in his own family. His consort, Maria, the daughter of Charles V., entirely coincided with the opinions of her brother Philip, and instilled them into the mind of her son. His brothers, Ferdinand and Charles, were zealous disciples of the Jesuits. Maximilian also gave his daughters in marriage to the most bloodthirsty persecutors of the heretics in Europe, Anna to Philip II. of Spain, Elisabeth to Charles IX. of France, who, on St. Bartholomew's night, aided with his own hand in the assassination of the Huguenots, who had been treacherously invited by him to Paris. This event filled Maximilian with horror; he, nevertheless, neglected to guard his wretched subjects from the far worse fate that awaited them during the thirty years' war. For the sake of treating each party with equal toleration, he allowed the Jesuits, during a period when hatred was rife in every heart, full liberty of action, and thus encouraged a sect, which, solely studious of evil, and animated by the most implacable revenge, shortly repaid his toleration with poison.

A female member of the imperial family was also an object of the hatred of the Jesuits. During the reign of Ferdinand I., his son, Ferdinand of the Tyrol, became enamored

of the daughter of an Augsburg citizen, Philippina Welser, the most beautiful maiden of her time, whom he secretly married. Philippina went to the imperial court, and, throwing herself under a feigned name at the emperor's feet, petitioned him to guard her from the danger with which she was threatened in case her marriage was discovered by an intolerant father-in-law. Ferdinand, moved by her beauty, raised her and promised to plead in her favor. Upon this Philippina discovered the truth, and the emperor, touched to the heart, forgave his son. The pope confirmed the marriage, and the happy pair spent a life of delight at the castle of Ambras, in the Tyrol, not far from Innsbruck, until it was poisoned by the venom instilled by the Jesuits. Their children were created Margraves of Burgau. The family became extinct in 1618.

The Protestants also allowed the opportunity offered to them by the emperor to pass unheeded, and, although they received a great accession in number, sank, from want of unity, in real power and influence. The rest of the German princes, Charles and Ernest of Baden, and Julius of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, the son of Henry the Wild, embraced Lutheranism. Austria, Bavaria, Lorraine, and Juliers remained Catholic. The Reformers were devoid of union and energy, and oppressed by a sense of having abused and desecrated, instead of having rigidly prosecuted, the Reformation. Was their present condition the fitting result of a religious emancipation, or worthy of the sacred blood that had been shed in the cause? Instead of one pope, the Protestants were oppressed by a number, each of the princes ascribing that authority to himself; and instead of the Jesuits they had court chaplains and superintendents-general, who, their equals in venom, despised no means, however base, by which their aim might be attained. A new species of barbarism had found admittance into the Protestant courts and universities. The Lutheran chaplains shared their influence over the princes with mistresses, boon companions, astrologers, alchemists, and Jews. The Protestant princes, ren-

dered, by the treaty of Augsburg, unlimited dictators in matters of faith within their territories, had lost all sense of shame. Philip of Hesse married two wives. Brandenburg and pious Saxony yielded to temptation. Surrounded by coarse grooms, equerries, court fools of obscene wit, and misshapen dwarfs, the princes emulated each other in drunkenness, an amusement that entirely replaced the noble and gallant tournament of earlier times. Almost every German court was addicted to this bestial vice. Among others, the ancient house of Piast in Silesia was utterly ruined by it. Even Louis of Wurtemberg, whose virtues rendered him the darling of his people, was continually in a state of drunkenness. This vice and that of swearing even became a subject of discussion in the diet of the empire, A.D. 1577, when it was decreed, "That all electoral princes, nobles, and Estates should avoid intemperate drinking as an example to their subjects." The chase was also followed to excess. The game was strictly preserved, and, during the hunt, the serfs were compelled to aid in demolishing their own cornfields. The Jews and alchemists, whom it became the fashion to have at court, were by no means a slight evil, all of them requiring gold. Astrology would have been a harmless amusement had not its professors taken advantage of the ignorance and superstition of the times. False representations of the secret powers of nature and of the devil led to the belief in witchcraft and to the bloody persecution of its supposed agents. Luther's belief in the agency of the devil had naturally filled the minds of his followers with superstitious fears. Julius, duke of Brunswick, embraced the Reformation, lived in harmony with his provincial Estates, founded the university of Helmstædt, and, during a long peace, raised his country to a high degree of prosperity, but had such an irresistible mania for burning witches that the blackened stakes near Wolfenbuttel resembled a wood. The consort of Duke Eric the younger was compelled to fly for safety to her brother Augustus of Saxony, Julius having, probably from interested motives, accused her of witchcraft.

The Ascanian family of Lauenburg was sunk in vice. The same license continued from one generation to another; the country was deeply in debt, and how, under these circumstances, the *cujus regio* was maintained may easily be conceived. The Protestant clergy of this duchy were proverbial for ignorance, license, and immorality.

The imperial court at Vienna offered, by its dignity and morality, a bright contrast to the majority of the Protestant courts, whose bad example was, nevertheless, followed by many of the Catholic princes, who, without taking part in the Reformation, had thereby acquired greater independence.

CXCIX. *Contests Between the Lutheran Church and the Princes*

The whole Reformation was a triumph of temporal over spiritual power. Luther himself, in order to avoid anarchy, had placed all the power in the hands of the princes. The memory of the ancient hierarchy had, however, not been consigned to oblivion, and the new passions roused by the Reformation constantly gave the preachers an influence of which they well knew how to avail themselves in opposition to the weaker princes. Had they not been defeated by their own want of union, they might, at all events, have rendered the triumph of the temporal power less easy.

The strict Lutherans, by whom the least tenable and least practical theses of Luther, which fostered disunion among the Reformers, were rigidly defended against the attacks of the Catholics, the Zwinglians, and the Calvinists, had fixed themselves at Jena under the youthful John Frederick, the son of the expelled elector of like name. The Illyrian, Flacius, the spiritual head of this university, was an energetic but narrow-minded man, by whom Luther's doctrine concerning original sin was so extremely exaggerated that he declared "original sin not only innate in man, but his very essence, and that he was thoroughly bad; an image, not of God, but of the devil." He was, it is true,

driven to this extreme by the exaggerated assertions of Agricola at Berlin, and of Osiander at Kœnigsberg, who maintained that man had the privilege, when once touched by grace, of being no longer subject to sin, whatever his actions might be. Between these two extremes stood the Wittenberg party under the aged and gentle-minded Melancthon, and that of Tubingen under the learned Brenz, who was shortly to be followed by the diplomatizing Jacob Andrea.

The relation in which these theological parties stood to temporal politics was extremely simple. The doctrine of grace taught by Agricola and Osiander placed man in a high position, flattered him, facilitated the forgiveness and also the commission of sin by the doctrine of justification, and therefore exactly suited the licentious princes. The founders of this doctrine also manifested the utmost servility in the external observances of the church, and conceded everything to their sovereign. This sect would have triumphed over the more gloomy tenets of the Flacians, who, inflexible in the maintenance of external observances, bade defiance to the princes, had it not in its pure theological dogma more resembled Calvinism than genuine Lutheranism. The majority of the princes, decidedly biassed against Calvinism on account of its republican tendency, preferred Lutheranism and the hateful contest with its theologians.

John Frederick and his chancellor, Brück, actuated by hereditary hatred of the elector, Augustus, countenanced the attacks of the theologians of Jena upon those of Wittenberg. The Interim furnished Flacius with an opportunity for defending the Adiaphora (sacrificed by the followers of Melancthon at Wittenberg as subordinate to the Interim), which he maintained as essential; and for carrying on a dispute concerning the efficacy of good works, which he totally rejected and declared to be a doctrine of destruction. The most criminal wretch, possessing faith, was, according to him, to be preferred before the most virtuous unbeliever. An antagonist appearing at Jena in the person of Strigel, a disciple of Melancthon, a Philipist, supported by Hugel, he

caused them both to be thrown into prison. A clever physician, named Schrœter, however, pointing out to the duke "the advantage of making use of the clergy instead of allowing them to make use of him," he excluded the whole of the professors of Jena from the consistory, which he composed of laymen. In the midst of these disorders, Melancthon, who had long sighed for relief from ecclesiastical disputes, found peace in the grave, A.D. 1559. The Flacians triumphantly beheld the elector's conciliatory proposals scornfully rejected by John Frederick, but, deceived by the belief of their being the cause, openly rebelling against the ducal mandate by which they were deprived of all ecclesiastical authority, they were deposed and expelled the country, A.D. 1562. Flacius, cruelly persecuted by his former pupils, especially by the morose Heshusius, died in misery at Frankfort on the Maine, A.D. 1575.

The Tübingen party, in 1558, made the extraordinary proposition of placing a superintendent-general, consequently a Protestant pope, over the whole of the new church; this proposition, however, failed, the princes having no inclination to render themselves once more subordinate to an ecclesiastic.

Albert, duke of Prussia, was severely chastised for the foundation of the university of Ingolstadt in 1546—notwithstanding the comfortable doctrine of his favorite, Osiander—by the jealousy of the professors, some of whom, as followers of Flacius, others at the instigation of the ancient aristocracy of the Teutonic Order, threw themselves, headed by Mœrlin, into the opposition, and roused the whole country against the talented and courtly Osiander. On his sudden death in 1552 the duke published a mandate ordaining peace. Mœrlin bade him defiance, was deposed, and fled to Brunswick; upon which the nobility, cities, and clergy confederated, and assumed such a threatening aspect that all the Osiandrists quitted the country. Skalich, a Croatian by birth, the duke's privy councillor, fled. The court chaplain, Funk, and some of the councillors, deeming them-

selves in security, remained. Mœrlin's adherents, however, compelled the duke to discharge his mercenaries, the duchess to retract her former declaration in Osiander's favor, and seized the persons of the councillors in the presence of their sovereign. Horst, one of his favorites, embraced the knees of his master, who wept in his helplessness. Horst, Funk, and others were beheaded, and the duke was compelled to recall Mœrlin, A.D. 1566, whose insolence broke the heart of the aged duke and duchess, both of whom expired on the same day, A.D. 1568. Their son, Albert Frederick, a boy fifteen years of age, was driven insane by the treatment he received from Mœrlin and the nobility. Mœrlin died, A.D. 1571, and bequeathed his office to Heshusius, a man of congenial character, possessing all the instincts of the dog except his fidelity. Such were the horrid natures produced by the passions of the age!

The feud carried on by John Frederick against Augustus, elector of Saxony, terminated in blood. John Frederick, implicated in an attempt made by a Franconian noble, William von Grumbach, to revive Sickingen's project for the downfall of the princes, was put with him under the ban of the empire, which Augustus executed upon him. John Frederick was taken prisoner in Gotha, borne in triumph to Vienna, and imprisoned for life at Neustadt. Grumbach and Brück were quartered, and their adherents hanged and executed. On the death of John William, John Frederick's brother, who died A.D. 1573, his infant children fell under the guardianship of the elector, Augustus, who expelled all the Flacian preachers, one hundred and eleven in number, from Weimar, and reduced them to beggary. The Philipists triumphed. Their leader, Peucer, Melancthon's son-in-law, the elector's private physician, was in great favor at court. Emboldened by success, they attempted to promulgate their tenets, in which they approached those of the Calvinists, and published a new catechism in 1571, which aroused the suspicion of Julius of Brunswick, who warned the elector against his crypto-calvinistic clergy. Augustus instantly con-

voked his clergy, and a satisfactory explanation took place; but, in 1574, influenced by his consort, Anna, a Danish princess, who ascribed the death of their infant son to the fact of his having been held at the font by Peucer, the crypto-calvinist, he threw both him and his adherents, on a supposition of treachery, into prison, assembled the whole of the clergy at Torgau, and compelled them to retract the tenets they had so long defended in the pulpit and by the press. Six of their number alone, Rüdiger, Crell, Wiedebram, Cruciger, Pegel, and Moller, refused obedience to the electoral mandate, and were sent into banishment. Peucer remained for twelve years in a narrow, unwholesome dungeon, without books or writing implements.

The fanaticism with which the Calvinists were persecuted was increased by other causes. Their tenets being embraced by Frederick, elector of the Pfalz, by whom the French Huguenot refugees were protected, a confederacy was formed against him by Christopher, duke of Wurtemberg, Wolfgang, duke of Pfalz-Neuburg, and Charles, duke of Baden. Frederick, rendered more obstinate by opposition, published, A.D. 1563, the notorious Heidelberg Catechism as form of belief, the most severe bull in condemnation of sectarians called forth by the Reformation, and the dispute would have taken a serious turn had not the emperor, Maximilian II., avoided touching upon every fresh ecclesiastical innovation at the diet held at Augsburg, A.D. 1566. Frederick remained isolated, and maintained Calvinism throughout his dominions with extreme severity. A Socinian clergyman, Sylvan, a disciple of the Pole, Socin, who denied the Trinity, and merely admitted one person in the Godhead, was, by his orders, beheaded at Heidelberg, A.D. 1572. Frederick died A.D. 1576. His son, Louis, a zealous Lutheran, destroyed his father's work. On entering Heidelberg he ordered all among his subjects who were not Lutheran to quit the city, and those among the Calvinistic preachers who refused to recant were expelled the country.

The various parties were now sufficiently chastised, and

the clergy demoralized, for the safe publication of a fresh formula or concordat by the Lutheran princes. In Brandenburg the clergy had been taught blind submission to the court by Agricola, and, in 1571, the elector, John George, placed the consistory under the presidency of a layman, Chemnitz. Augustus, elector of Saxony, found a servile tool for a similar purpose in Selneccer, who, with Andrea of Wurtemberg, the son of a smith of Waiblingen, completed the triumvirate, who, in the name of the Lutherans of Southern Germany, drew up the formula, A.D. 1577, without the convocation of a synod, in the monastery of Bergen, and imposed it upon the whole of the Lutheran world. William of Hesse, whose father, Philip, had died, laden with years, in 1567, Pomerania, Holstein, Anhalt, and some of the cities, alone protested against it. The people obeyed.

Harmony had existed among the Reformers since the covenant—by which all essential differences were smoothed down—entered into, A.D. 1563, by the obstinate elector of the Pfalz and Bullinger, Zwingli's successor in Zurich. Basel alone maintained a separate confession between Lutheranism and Zwingliism. The disputes among the Reformers, although less important than those among the Lutherans, nevertheless equalled them in virulence.

CC. *Revolt in the Netherlands—The Geuses*

CHARLES V. had assiduously endeavored to round off the Netherlands, and to render them a bulwark against France and the Protestants. Guelders resisted the Habsburg with the greatest obstinacy.[1] The aged and childless duke, Charles, was compelled by the Estates, when on his deathbed, to name William, duke of Juliers, his successor, in preference to the Habsburg. Ghent also revolted against the enormous taxes

[1] Hoog van moed,
Klein van goed,
Een Zwaard in de hand
Ist wapen van Gelderland.

imposed by the emperor, who appeared, A.D. 1514, in person before the gates, forced the citizens to submit, and beheaded twenty of the principal townsmen. Guelders was also reduced, and William of Juliers was compelled to renounce his claim in favor of the Habsburg.

The emperor vainly attempted to keep the Netherlands free from heresy by the publication of the cruel Placates. Tyranny merely rendered zeal extravagant, and gave rise to secret sectarianism. In 1546, a certain Loy was executed for promulgating the extraordinary doctrine of the existing world being hell. From Basel, his place of refuge, the influence of David Joris, and of another Anabaptist, Menno Simonis, greatly spread. The Mennonites were distinguished from the rest of the Anabaptists by their gentleness and love of peace, which caused their renunciation of the use of arms. The French Calvinists, who had found their way into Flanders, were, however, far more intractable and bold. Such numbers were thrown into prison and sentenced to the stake that the mercantile class addressed a petition to the emperor, representing the injury thereby inflicted on industry and commerce. Material interests, nevertheless, predominated to such a degree in the Netherlands that the victims of the Placates, numerous as they were, excited little attention among the mass of the population, and amid the immense press of business.[1] Charles drew large sums of money from the Netherlands, which he at the same time provided with every means for the acquisition of wealth. Commerce and manufactures flourished. He also rendered himself extremely popular by his constant use of his native tongue, Flemish, his adoption of that dress, and the favor he showed to his countrymen even in foreign service. His father, Maximilian, had greatly contributed to bring Low Dutch, which

[1] The cities were at the height of their prosperity; hence the epithets, Brussels the Noble, Ghent the Great, Mechlin the Beautiful, Namur the Strong, Antwerp the Rich, Louvain the Wise (on account of her university).

"Nobilibus Bruxella viris, Antwerpia nummis,
Gandavum laqueis, formosis Brugga puellis,
Lovanium doctis, gaudet Mechlinia stultis."

under the Burgundian rule had ceded to French, into general use. Under the Habsburgs the literature of the Netherlands was greatly fostered, and chambers of rhetoric were formed in all the cities. Charles V., a thorough Fleming at heart, did still more for the country, notwithstanding which, he abandoned his Germanic system, and sacrificed the fine provinces of the Netherlands to the stranger.

The petty policy with which this monarch coquetted during his long reign, with which he embarrassed instead of smoothing affairs, the great cunning and power with which he executed the most untoward and the most useless projects, was not contradicted by his ill-starred will, by which he arbitrarily bestowed the Netherlands on his son, Philip II. of Spain, deprived Germany of her finest province, and laid a heavy burden upon Spain. By it the natural position of the nations in regard to one another was disturbed and an artificial connection created, the dissolution of which was to cost torrents of blood.

Philip II. at first received the most brilliant proofs of the fidelity of the Netherlands by their opposition to the French, who had renewed the war, and were again aided by the Swiss. Their general, Count Egmont, victorious at St. Quentin and Gravelines, concluded a favorable peace at Cambresis, A.D. 1559, which restored Dunkirk—that, A.D. 1540, had been taken by the English, who, A.D. 1558, had been deprived of it by the French—to Philip. The breast of this monarch, nevertheless, remained impervious to gratitude. During the battle of St. Quentin, while others fought for him, he remained upon his knees, and vowed, were he victorious, to raise a splendid church in honor of St. Laurence, and, in performance of this vow, erected, in the vicinity of Madrid, the famous monastery of the Escurial, on which he expended all the treasures of Spain. Being overtaken by a storm during a sea voyage, he took a solemn oath, in case of safety, to exterminate all the heretics in honor of God, and, in fulfilment of this vow, spilled torrents of the blood of his subjects with the most phlegmatic indiffer-

ence. His principal occupation consisted of repose in solitary chambers. The gloom of the Escurial formed his ideal of happiness. The bustle of public life, the expression of the popular will, were equally obnoxious to him. He therefore endeavored to maintain tranquillity by enforcing blind obedience or by death.[1]

Philip, on his departure from Spain, left his half-sister, a natural daughter of Charles V., Margaret of Parma, a woman of masculine appearance, stadtholderess of the Netherlands, and placed near her person the Cardinal Granvella, a man of acute and energetic mind, blindly devoted to his service. This appointment greatly offended the Dutch, who, instead of receiving a native stadtholder, either the Prince of Orange or Count Egmont, in compliance with their wishes, beheld a base-born stranger at the head of the government. Philip, instead of making use of the nobility against the inferior classes, by this step impolitically roused their anger; suspicious and wayward, he preferred a throne secured by violence to one, like that of his father, ill-sustained by intrigue. With the view of effectually checking the progress of heresy, he decreed that the four bishoprics, until now existing in the Netherlands, should be increased to seventeen. This unconstitutional decree gave general discontent; to the nobility, whose influence was necessarily diminished by the appointment of an additional number of churchmen; to the people, on account of their secret inclination to and recognition of the tenets of the Reformed Church; and to the clergy, whose ancient possessions were thus arbitrarily partitioned among a number of newcomers. The representations made by every class were disregarded; Granvella enforced the execution of the decree, erected the new bishoprics, and commenced a bitter persecution of the heretics. The Dutch, nevertheless, did not overstep the bounds of

[1] The best portraits of this monarch, particularly those at Naples, bear by no means a gloomy or austere expression, but rather one of cool impudence. The features are of a common, nay, almost knavish cast.

obedience, but revenged themselves on the cardinal by open mockery and the publication of caricatures,[1] which rendered the country hateful to him, and he took his departure, A.D. 1564.

The Netherlands had patiently permitted the imposition of the useless bishoprics, the doubly severe Placates, the new resolutions of the council of Trent, and would indubitably have remained tranquil but for the attempt made to introduce the Inquisition by Philip, which at once raised a serious opposition. The very name of this institution was not heard without a shudder. The manner in which it had in America sacrificed thousands of Indians in bloody holocaust to the Christian idols of Spain, and the autos-de-fe, great executional festivals, during which thousands of heretics were burned alive, and over which the king, in his royal robes, presided, were still fresh in men's minds. "We are no stupid Mexicans," exclaimed the Dutch, "we will maintain our ancient rights!" The nobles signed the compromise, a formal protest against the Inquisition, which they laid in the form of a petition before the regent, A.D. 1566. The procession, headed by Count de Brederode, went on foot and by two and two to the palace. Count de Barlaimont, a zealous royalist, on viewing their approach, said jeeringly, "Ce n'est qu'un tas de gueux!" Margaret gave them a friendly reception, but, incapable of acting in this affair without authority from the king, promised to inform him of their request. Barlaimont's remark being afterward repeated at a banquet attended by the nobility, Brederode good-humoredly sent a beggar's wallet and a wooden goblet round the table with the toast, "Vivent les gueux!" The name was henceforth adopted by the faction.

The nobles, offended at the contemptuous silence with which their petition was treated by the king, now ventured

[1] They imitated his cardinal's hat with a fool's cap; represented him under the form of a hen, brooding over seventeen eggs, and hatching bishops. Egmont's servants, even at that time, wore a bundle of arrows embroidered on their sleeves, a symbol of union, afterward adopted as the arms of Holland.

to prescribe a term for the reception of his reply. A great popular tumult, in which the nobles were partially implicated, broke out simultaneously. The captive heretics were released by force, the churches and monasteries were stormed, and all the pictures, to the irreparable injury of native art, destroyed. The nobles were, however, finally constrained by the stadtholderess to come to terms. The Calvinists in Valenciennes and Tournay alone made an obstinate defence, but were compelled to yield. Egmont, anxious for the maintenance of tranquillity and for the continuance of the royal favor, acted with great severity.

Philip, without either ratifying or declaring against the terms of peace, proclaimed a general amnesty, and announced his speedy arrival in the Netherlands, and his desire to fulfil the wishes of his people. Lulled suspicion was, however, speedily reawakened by the news of the approach, not of the king, but of his ferocious commander-in-chief, the duke of Alba, at the head of a powerful force. The more spirited among the nobles advised instant recourse to arms, and the defence of the frontier against the approaching army, but were overruled by the moderate party, who hesitated to rebel against a monarch whose intentions were merely suspected. William of Orange, count of Nassau, the wealthy possessor of Chalons-Orange, stadtholder of Holland, Seeland, and Utrecht, surnamed the Silent, on account of his reserve, whose talents had endeared him to Charles V., vainly warned his friends of the danger they incurred. The Counts Egmont and Horn remained incredulous, and William, unable to persuade the States to make a resolute opposition before the mask was openly dropped by the king, resolved to secure his safety by flight. On taking leave of Egmont he said, "I fear you will be the first over whose corpse the Spaniards will march!" Some of the nobles mockingly calling after him as he turned away, "Adieu, Prince Lackland!" he rejoined, "Adieu, headless sirs!" Numerous adherents to the new faith and wealthy manufacturers, alarmed at the threatening aspect of affairs, quitted the country. The majority

withdrew to England.[1] One hundred thousand men, more than would have sufficed for the defence of the country against the Spanish army, had the States been resolute and united, emigrated. Brederode also fled, and died shortly afterward in exile.

Alba, a monster both in body and mind, entered Brussels in the summer of 1567, at the head of a picked force of twelve thousand Spaniards and a body of German troops which he raised on his march from Milan. He was received with a death-like silence. Fear had seized every heart. He commenced by displaying the greatest mildness, received Egmont and the rest of the nobles with open arms and overwhelmed them with civility, called no one to account, took no step without convoking the Estates, and inspired the Dutch with such confidence that numbers of the more timid, who had withdrawn, were induced to quit their strongholds and to return to Brussels. For three weeks the same part was enacted; the certainty of the intended absence of the Prince of Orange then caused him to throw off the mask, and, inviting the Counts Egmont and Horn to a conference, he unexpectedly placed them under arrest, September 9, 1567, and from this moment cast away the scabbard to bathe his sword in the blood of the unsuspecting Dutch.

The regent, Margaret, was, under pretext of a secret order from the king, sent out of the country, and a criminal court, which passed judgment upon all the Dutch, who confessed heretical tenets, had signed the compromise, or been implicated in the disturbances, was appointed. This court was solely composed of Spaniards, to whom some Dutch traitors, for instance, Hessels and the Count de Barlaimont, served as informers. The confiscation of property was the principal

[1] They were rejected by the Hanse towns from an old sentiment of jealousy, and on account of their Calvinistic tenets. England, more clear-sighted, gave the industrious and wealthy emigrants a warm reception. It was in this manner that William Curten of Flanders carried his art and his capital to England, to whose monarch he lent enormous sums; he also settled a colony of eighteen thousand men in the island of Barbadoes, and opened the trade between England and China. He died poor, but his grandson presented a number of valuable antiques and a collection of natural history to the British Museum.

purpose for which this court was instituted, and numerous wealthy proprietors were accused and beheaded, though guiltless of offence. The secret of their hidden treasures was extorted by the application of the most horrid tortures, after which the unhappy victims were delivered over to the executioner. Blood flowed in torrents, Egmont and Horn were executed, A.D. 1568, and two noble Dutchmen, Bergen and Montmorency-Montigny, sent as ambassadors to Madrid, were by Philip's command put to death, the one by poison, the other in his secret dungeon.

CCI. *William of Orange*

WILLIAM had fled into Germany to his brother, John the Elder of Nassau-Dillenburg, one of the noblest men of his day, who was unfortunately sovereign over merely a petty territory. He was the first who, from feelings of humanity and respect for his fellow Christians, abolished bond-service. He also engaged with his whole forces in the Dutch cause, and aided William, who found no sympathy among the Lutheran princes, to levy troops. The high Gimsburg, in the solitary forests, was the spot where the leaders secretly met. They succeeded in raising four small bodies of troops, composed of exiles, friends of liberty, and Huguenots. John, William, and their younger brothers, Louis, Adolf, and Henry, generously mortgaged the whole of their possessions, and entered the Netherlands with their united forces.[1] Alba instantly seized William's son, Philip William, a student at Louvain, and sent him a prisoner to Spain. The struggle commenced, A.D. 1568. The princes of Nassau gained a victory at Heiligerlee, which cost Adolf his life, but the Spaniards were victorious at Groningen, where Louis lost six thousand men, and narrowly escaped by swimming.

[1] Four of these noble-spirited brethren shed their life-blood in the cause of the freedom of conscience and of the independence of the Netherlands, Adolf, Louis, and Henry falling on the battlefield, William by the hand of the assassin. John was for some time stadtholder of Guelders, but returned to his native Nassau.

A merely desultory warfare was afterward carried on by petty bands in the forests (the Bush or Wood Geuses), or on the sea, by the Water Geuses. Hermann de Ruyter, the grazier, boldly seized the castle of Lœwenstein, which he blew up when in danger of falling again into the hands of the Spanish.

There being nothing more to confiscate, Alba imposed a tax, first of the hundredth, then of the tenth, and afterward of the twentieth penny. He boasted that he could extract more gold from the Netherlands than from Peru, and, nevertheless, withheld the pay from his soldiery in order to incite them still more to pillage. Close to Antwerp he erected his principal fortress, the celebrated citadel, from which he commanded the finest city in the Netherlands, the navigation of the Scheldt, Holland on one side, and Flanders on the other. It was here that he caused a monument, formed of the guns he had captured, to be raised in his honor during his lifetime. The pope, in order to reward his services and to encourage his persecution of the heretics, sent him a consecrated sword. The number of victims executed at his command amounted to eighteen thousand six hundred; putrid carcasses on gallows and wheels infested all the country roads. The appearance of a new and enormous star (in Cassiopeia), which for more than a year remained motionless and then disappeared, filling the whole of Europe with terror and astonishment, and a dreadful flood on the coast of Friesland, by which twenty thousand men were carried away, added to the general misery. On the latter occasion, A.D. 1572, the Spanish stadtholder, Billy, gave a noble example by the erection of excellent dikes, which found many imitators, and his memory is still venerated on the coasts of the Northern Ocean. Happy would it have been for Germany had all her enemies resembled him!

It was not until 1572 that William regained sufficient strength to retake the field. Men were not wanting, but they were ill-provided with arms, and too undisciplined to stand against the veteran troops of the duke. By sea alone

was success probable. William von der Mark, Count von Lumay, Egmont's friend, who had vowed neither to comb nor cut his hair until he had revenged his death, a descendant of the celebrated Boar of Ardennes, quitted the forests for the sea, captured the richly-freighted Spanish ships, and took the town of Briel by a ruse de guerre. Alba, on learning this event, remarked with habitual contempt, "*no es nada*" (it is nothing). These words and a pair of spectacles (*Brille*, Briel) were placed by the Geuses on their banners. No sooner had a fortified city fallen into their hands than the courage of the Dutch revived. The citizens of Vliessingen, animated by the public admonitions of their pastor, rebelled, put the Spaniards, who had laid the foundation of another citadel commanding the town, to death, and hanged the architect, Pacieco. The whole of Holland followed their example. The Spaniards were everywhere slain or expelled, and were only able to keep their footing in Middelburg.

William of Orange had again raised an army in Germany, and his brother Louis another in France. The faithless French court offered its aid on condition of receiving the southern provinces, while William was to retain those to the north. Louis consented, and invaded the Hennegau, while William entered Brabant; but this negotiation had been merely entered into by the Catholic party in France, for the purpose of attracting the Huguenots to Paris, where they were assassinated. The news of the tragedy enacted on the night of St. Bartholomew opened the eyes of the princes of Nassau to the treachery of France, and they hastily withdrew their troops. A plot laid for William's capture at Mons was frustrated by the fidelity of a small dog belonging to him, which is still to be seen sculptured on his tomb.

Alba, burning with revenge, now marched in person upon Mechlin, where he plundered the city and put all the inhabitants to the sword, while his son, Frederick, committed still more fearful atrocities at Zutphen. Holland was, however, destined to bear the severest punishment. Frederick was

despatched thither with orders to spare neither age nor sex. The whole of the inhabitants of Naarden, contrary to the terms of capitulation, were treacherously butchered. Haarlem was gallantly defended by her citizens and by a troop of three hundred women, under the widow Kenan Hasselaar, during the whole of the winter. William von der Mark and William of Orange vainly attempted to raise the siege, and the town was at length compelled by famine to capitulate, A.D. 1573. Frederick had lost ten thousand of his men. The inhabitants were sent to the block, and when the headsmen were unable from fatigue to continue their office, the remaining victims, three hundred excepted, were tied back to back and thrown into the sea. Frederick then marched upon Altmaar, which was so desperately defended by the inhabitants, both male and female, that one thousand of his men, and some of the three hundred Haarlemites, fell in the trenches, and he was compelled to withdraw. The Water Geuses were at the same time victorious in a naval engagement, in which thirty of the great Spanish ships were beaten, and the enormous admiral's ship, the Inquisition, and six others, taken by twenty-four of the small Dutch vessels. A Spanish fleet of fifty-four ships was afterward beaten, and a rich convoy of merchantmen taken. The captured vessels were manned with Dutchmen, and Holland ere long possessed a fine fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, which effectually kept the Spaniards at bay.

The Spanish court at length perceived the folly of its cruelty and severity. Alba was recalled, and replaced by Requesens, A.D. 1574, who sought by gentleness and mildness to restore tranquillity. The Dutch, however, no longer trusted to Spanish promises, and continued to carry on war. Middelburg fell into their hands, and a Spanish fleet, hastening to the relief of that town, was annihilated. Success, nevertheless, varied. During the same year, the princes were beaten in an open engagement on the Mookerheath near Nimwegen, where Louis and Henry fell, covered with glory. Requesens pacified his mutinous soldiers, who de-

manded their pay, with a promise of the plunder of the rich city of Leyden, to which Valdez suddenly laid siege before it could provide itself with provisions. The city, surrounded by sixty-two Spanish forts, quickly fell a prey to famine, the Dutch land army had been dispersed, and the ships of the Water Geuses were unavailable. In this distress, William's advice to cut the dikes and to flood the country was eagerly put into practice. "Better to spoil the land than to lose it," exclaimed the patriotic people. The sea poured rapidly over the fields and villages, bearing onward the ships of the gallant Geuses. It was, nevertheless, found impossible to reach the still distant walls of Leyden, which were viewed with bitter rage by the rough and weather-beaten skippers, on whose broad-brimmed hats was worn a half-moon with the inscription, "Liever turcx dan pausch," "Better Turkish than popish." Boisot and Adrian Wilhelmssen headed the expedition. The most profound misery reigned, meanwhile, in the city. Six thousand of the inhabitants had already died of hunger. The prayers of the wretched survivors were at length heard. A sea-breeze sprang up. The water, impelled by the northeast wind, gradually rose, filled the trenches of the Spaniards, who sought safety in flight, and reached the city walls, bearing on its broad surface the boats of the brave Geuses, who, after distributing bread and fish to the famishing citizens collected on the walls, went in pursuit of the Spaniards, of whom one thousand five hundred were drowned or slain, A.D. 1575. The university at Leyden was erected in memory of the persevering fidelity of the inhabitants, and in compensation for their losses. The anniversary of this glorious day is still kept there as a festival.

Holland was henceforth free. William was elected stadtholder by the people, but still in the name of their obnoxious monarch, and the Calvinistic tenets and form of service were re-established, to the exclusion of those of the Catholics and Lutherans. As early as 1574, the Reformed preachers had, in the midst of danger, opened their first church assembly at Dordrecht. The cruelties practiced by the Catholics were

equalled by those inflicted on the opposing party by the Reformers. William of Orange endeavored to repress these excesses, threw William von der Mark, his lawless rival, into prison, where he shortly afterward died, it is said, by poison, and occupied the wild soldiery, during the short peace that ensued, in the re-erection of the dikes torn down in defence of Leyden. The most horrid atrocities were, nevertheless, perpetrated by Sonoi, by whom the few Catholics remaining in Holland were exterminated, A.D. 1577. A violent commotion also took place in Utrecht, but ceased on the death of the last of her archbishops, Frederick Schenk (cupbearer) von Tautenburg, A.D. 1580.

Spain remained tranquil. The armies and fleets furnished by Philip had cost him such enormous sums that the state was made bankrupt by the fall in the revenue. Requesens, who was neither able nor willing to take any decisive step, suddenly expired, A.D. 1576. His soldiery, unpaid and impatient of restraint, now gave way to the most unbridled license, dispersed over Flanders, sacked one hundred and twenty villages, and, driving in their van numbers of captive women and girls, approached the gates of Maestricht, where, the citizens refusing to fire upon the helpless crowd, the Spaniards forced their way into the city, where they practiced every variety of crime. This event caused the long-suppressed wrath of the citizens of Ghent to explode. The German citizens of this town, who favored the tenets of the Reformers, had unresistingly submitted to Alba, and, although the gallows had remained standing for years in each of the city squares, and numbers of Iconoclasts, Reformed preachers, and Geuses had been hanged, beheaded, and burned, Ghent had suffered comparatively less than her sister cities. The rumored advance of the Spanish troops roused the whole of the inhabitants, the men flew to arms, the women and children lent their aid in tearing up the pavement, in order to fortify the town against the castle, commanded by Mondragon, the brave defender of Middelburg. The troops of the Prince of Orange were allowed to

garrison the city.—The Spanish soldiery, however, intimidated by those preparations, and conscious of their want of a leader, turned off toward Antwerp, which they took by surprise, November 4, 1576. They laid five hundred houses in ashes, murdered five thousand of the inhabitants, and completely sacked the city. Numbers of the citizens fled to Frankfort on the Maine, which they enriched by the introduction of their arts and manufactures.

William of Orange, meanwhile, took advantage of the absence of a royal stadtholder and of the universal unpopularity of the Spaniards, to seize, by means of his friends Lalaing and Glimes, the town council of Brussels that favored the Spaniards, and to propose a union of all the Netherlands for the confirmation of peace, the equal recognition of both confessions of faith, and the expulsion of the Spaniards. This was accomplished by the pacification of Ghent, November 8, 1576. Ghent was the centre of the movement, having for aim the union of the southern to the northern provinces. Mondragon vainly attempted to defend the citadel against the enthusiastic populace, and finally capitulated.

Don Juan, a natural son of Charles V. by Barbara Blumberger, the daughter of a citizen of Augsburg, the new Spanish stadtholder, a man already known to fame by the great victory of Lepanto, gained by him, A.D. 1571, over the Turkish fleet, arrived at this conjuncture. The mutinous soldiery instantly submitted to him, but the Estates insisted upon his confirmation of the pacification of Ghent in the name of the king, to which he assented and marched to Brussels. The Spanish troops were, in consequence of this peace, sent out of the country, Don Juan dissembling his real projects, and yielding to every demand with the view of weakening the influence of the Prince of Orange, of limiting him to Holland and Seeland, and of reconciling the southern provinces to Spain. Several of the nobles were jealous of William of Orange, among others, the duke of Aerschot, who, as governor of Flanders, garrisoned the citadel of Ghent in Don

Juan's name, and secretly corresponded with him. Don Juan also broke his word, secretly quitted Brussels, threw himself into the fortified castle of Namur, and recalled the Spanish troops. The Estates, indignant at this act of treachery, deprived him of his office, and called William of Orange to the head of affairs, but that prince, conscious of the jealousy with which he was beheld by the rest of the grandees, and less intent upon his personal aggrandizement than desirous of the welfare of the country, ceded his right in favor of the Archduke Matthias, the second son of Maximilian II., by whom the Netherlands might once more be united with Germany, and who, moreover, appeared far from disinclined to advance the cause of the Reformation. Matthias was received with open arms by the German party, and the foreign and Spanish faction completely succumbed on the capture of the citadel of Ghent by the enraged populace, October 28, 1577. The government of this city became a pure democracy. Iconoclasm and the assassination of Catholic priests recommenced, and a violent feud was carried on with the Walloon nobility, the zealous supporters of Catholicism. These events were beheld with great uneasiness by Matthias and the Prince of Orange, whose efforts were solely directed to the union of all the Netherlands, whether Catholic or Reformed, under a German prince against Spain. William visited Ghent in person, for the purpose of preaching reason to the Calvinists and of renewing the article concerning religious toleration contained in the Pacification of Ghent.

Soon after this, in the February of 1578, the Dutch army under Matthias and Orange was, while attempting to take Don Juan's camp at Gemblours by storm, defeated by the Spanish, principally owing to the bravery and military science of the young Duke Alexander of Parma, the son of Margaret. This misfortune again bred dissension and disunion among the Dutch; Matthias lost courage, and endeavored by his promises to induce the Catholics to abandon the Spaniards, while the citizens of Ghent, with increased insolence, again attacked monasteries and churches, committed crucifixes and

pictures of the saints to the flames, and burned six Minorites, accused of favoring the enemy, alive. The French, with customary perfidy, now attempted to turn the intestine dissensions of the Dutch to advantage, and Francis, Duke d'Alençon, the brother of the French monarch, Henry III., offered aid, in the hope of seizing the government of the Netherlands. Elizabeth, queen of England, made a futile attempt to assist the Reformers by sending large sums of money to the Pfalzgraf, John Casimir, whom she commissioned to raise troops for the Prince of Orange; but the Pfalzgraf, actuated by jealousy of the fame of that prince, joined the demagogues of Ghent. Alençon, rejected by every party, withdrew from the country, and, in revenge, allowed the French soldiery, several thousands in number, raised for this expedition, to join the Walloons, who, under the name of malcontents or beadsmen, had just commenced a bitter war against the people of Ghent, who, under their leader, Ryhove, gained the upper hand, took Bruges, and required the united efforts of the Prince of Orange and of Davidson, the English ambassador, to keep within bounds. Don Juan expired at this period, A.D. 1578, and the Dutch, had harmony subsisted among them, might easily have seized this opportunity, during the confusion that consequently ensued in the Spanish camp, to expel the duke of Parma. The bigotry of the people of Ghent long rendered every attempt at reconciliation between them, the Walloons, and the rest of the Catholics, abortive, and it was not until William of Orange again appeared in person at Ghent that a religious convention was agreed to and peace was once more restored, December 16, 1578.

The moment for action had, however, passed. The duke of Parma had already taken a firm footing in the southern provinces, and, aided by the implacable Walloons, was steadily advancing. Matthias and the German Catholics tottered on the brink of destruction. The return of the Catholic priests to Ghent was a signal for a fresh popular outbreak, and the treaty, so lately concluded, was infringed. The northern

provinces, resolute in the defence of their liberties, kept aloof from these dissensions, and, on the 22d January, 1579, subscribed to the Union of Utrecht, renounced all allegiance to Spain, and founded a united republic, consisting of seven free states, Guelders, Holland, Seeland, Zutphen, Friesland, Oberyssel, and Gröningen, the states-general of Holland, over which William of Orange was placed as stadtholder-general. This step had been strongly advised by Elizabeth of England, as a means of raising a strong bulwark on the mouths of the Rhine against both France and Spain. The Dutch declaration of independence, like that of the Swiss confederation, contained the preamble that by this step Holland had no intention to separate herself from the holy Roman empire. The aid demanded by both the Dutch and the Swiss against foreign aggression had been refused, owing to the egotism of the princes and the mean jealousy of the cities. The emperor wanted the spirit to act with decision; his brother, Matthias, entered the country and quitted it with equal secrecy. The Lutherans refused all fellowship with the followers of Calvin.

The Prince of Parma, a man distinguished both as a warrior and as a statesman, formed a coalition with the Walloons, with the discontented nobility, even gained over William's friend, the influential Lalaing, and commenced operations without delay. Dunkirk was taken within six days; Maestricht was stormed, the inhabitants were put to the sword, and the city was reduced to ruins. Herzogenbusch and Mechlin fell by stratagem. The underhand system of seduction pursued by this prince was opposed by an open manifesto on the part of the stadtholder of Holland, in which the revolt of the provinces against their legitimate sovereign was justified, on the grounds that the people were not for the prince but that the prince was for the people, and that Philip had injured, not benefited his subjects. This manifesto was answered by another on the part of Philip II., in which, without touching upon the just complaints of the people, he ascribed the revolt of the Netherlands to the

intrigues of William of Orange, who had wickedly seduced his happy subjects from their allegiance. He, at the same time, set a price of twenty-five thousand ducats on the head of this arch-rebel, and promised to bestow a patent of nobility on his assassin.

William of Orange for a third time visited Ghent, A.D. 1580, and appeased the civil broils. Ghent and Bruges subscribed to the Union of Utrecht. Matthias had voluntarily retired; and William, in order to raise a fresh enemy to the rear of Parma, who continued rapidly advancing, advised the election of a French prince to the stadtholdership. Alençon instantly hastened into the country, and delayed the duke's progress by the siege of Cambray. The Spanish manifesto had not, meanwhile, vainly appealed to the basest passions of the human heart. A Frenchman named Jauregui, ambitious of the promised guerdon, shot the Prince of Orange in the head, in the March of 1581. The wound, although dangerous, was not mortal.

The Prince of Parma, favored by the state of inactivity to which William was reduced in consequence of his wound, redoubled his efforts, took Tournay and Oudenarde, and was even more successful by intrigue than by force of arms. The French were equally obnoxious to both the German and Spanish factions, and Alençon was compelled to retire, A.D. 1581. Parma, meanwhile, skilfully took advantage of the national dislike of the Germans to the French to pave the way to a reconciliation with Spain, and William of Orange, on his recovery, perceived with alarm the inclination of the southern provinces to accede to his proposals for the sake of peace. His faction in Ghent was defeated, A.D. 1583, but the treason of Hembyze, the head of the Spanish party, who offered to deliver up the city to Parma, being discovered, the Orange faction was recalled, the treaty concluded at Tournay between Ghent and Parma annulled, and the duke's letters were, by way of answer, publicly burned. Bruges, instigated by the Duke von Aerschot, opened her gates to the Spaniards.

Orange, true to his motto, "calm in the midst of storms," still hoped for success, but scarcely had he recovered from the effects of his wound than a second assassin was sent by the Spanish monarch. Balthasar Gerard presented himself as a suppliant before him and received a handsome present, in return for which he lodged three balls in his body. "O God, have mercy upon me, and upon this poor nation!" were the last words of the dying prince. This deed of horror took place the 17th July, 1584. His last wife, Anne de Coligny, had seen her murdered father, the celebrated admiral, and her first husband, Teligny, expire in her arms. Gerard was quartered, but Philip II., in imitation of the pope, who, on receiving the news of the murder of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's night, ordered public rejoicings, ennobled his family, and bestowed upon it the title of "destroyer of tyrants."

The perfidious Hembyze, who, although in his seventieth year, had just married a young woman, was, as if in expiation of this base assassination, almost at the same time, August 4th, beheaded at Ghent as a traitor to his country. The Orange faction in the city was, nevertheless, compelled to submit to the duke and to comply with the general desire for tranquillity and peace, A.D. 1584. Parma prohibited the Calvinistic form of worship, threw four hundred of the citizens into prison, closed the academies and printing-presses, and established the Jesuits in the city. The house of Hembyze was converted into a Jesuit college. Brussels and Antwerp were taken, after sustaining a lengthy siege.

The southern Netherlands were thus lost to the Reformation and to liberty, and, by their separation from the northern provinces, gave rise to that unnatural distinction between nations similar in descent that still keeps Holland and Belgium so widely apart.

CCII. *The Republic of Holland*

PEACE was, on the death of the Prince of Orange, offered by the duke of Parma to Holland, by whom it was steadily rejected and Spain was declared a faithless friend, whom she would oppose to the last drop of her heart's blood. Fortune, meanwhile, favored Parma. Maurice, William's son, an inexperienced youth, had been raised by the grateful people to the stadtholdership, and Leicester, the English envoy, had, by his incapacity and arrogance, rendered himself obnoxious to the Dutch, whom he would willingly have reduced beneath the British sceptre. The declining power of the Reformers was, nevertheless, renovated by the destruction of the invincible Armada, which, shattered by a storm, was completely annihilated by the Dutch and English ships under the admirals Howard and Drake,[1] A.D. 1588. This success animated the Dutch with fresh courage, and Parma, compelled to raise the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, which had for some time resisted his efforts, fell ill with chagrin. The castle of Bleyenbek yielded to the Dutch, A.D. 1589. Breda was taken and sacked by Maurice, who defeated the Spaniards under Verdugo at Cæworden, freed Gröningen from her tyrannical governor, the Count von Rennenburg, and took Nimwegen.

The war dragged slowly on. Philip II. again had recourse to intrigue, and restoring Philip William, Maurice's elder brother, whom he had long detained a prisoner in Spain, to liberty, sent him unexpectedly back to the Netherlands, in the hope of dissensions breaking out between the brethren; but Philip William, although refused admission into the country by the Dutch, who feared the disturbance of their republic, nobly rejected Philip's proposals, and even preferred renouncing his right to his Burgundian estates to holding them on dishonorable terms, A.D. 1595.

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[1] This officer brought the first potatoes from America.

The duke of Parma expired, A.D. 1596, and was succeeded by another Spanish stadtholder, Albert, also a son of the emperor Maximilian II. Albert had married Philip's daughter, Isabella. Peace was equally desired by all parties in the Netherlands, and remained alone unconcluded from want of unanimity. The war was, meanwhile, mechanically carried on, principally by foreigners, French, English, and eastern Germans; and it was in this school that most of the great military characters during the ensuing wars acquired their science and skill. The most remarkable event during this war was the siege of Ostend, which Albert, or rather his wife, Isabella, "the only man in her family," resolved to gain at whatever price; she even vowed not to change her undergarment until success had crowned her endeavors. The siege commenced, A.D. 1602, and was at length terminated by Spinola, A.D. 1605; the city had, during this interval, been gradually reduced to a heap of ruins, and one hundred thousand men had fallen on both sides. The tint known as Isabella-color was so named from the hue acquired by the garment of the Spanish princess.

A truce for twelve years was at length concluded, A.D. 1609, but war broke out afresh on the commencement of the religious war that convulsed the whole of Germany. The seven northern provinces retained their freedom, the southern ones remained Spanish. The latter lost all their inhabitants favorable to the Reformation, and with them their prosperity and civil liberties. The cities stood desert; the people were rendered savage by military rule, or steeped in ignorance by the Jesuits; and in this melancholy manner was Germany deprived of her strongest bulwark, of the most blooming and the freest of her provinces. Holland, on the other hand, blessed with liberty, quickly rose to a high degree of prosperity. Her population, swelled by the Calvinistic emigrants from the Spanish Netherlands, from France and Germany, became too numerous for the land, and whole families, as in China, dwelt in boats in the vicinity of the larger towns. The over-population of the country gave rise,

A.D. 1607, to that Herculean enterprise, the draining of the Bremstersee, by which a large tract of land was reclaimed, and to the excellent Waterstaat or system of canals and dikes, which prevented the entrance of the sea, and was superintended by Deichgrafs. The navy created by the Water Geuses furnished means for the extension of the commercial relations of the republic. Amsterdam became the great emporium of Dutch commerce and the outlet for the internal produce of Holland. The trade long carried on between the merchants of Spain and of Holland had secretly continued during the war. The traffic of the former with the East Indies and America was carried on with the capital of the Dutch, who, out of their share of the profit, armed their countrymen against the Spanish troops. This traffic being discovered and strictly prohibited by Philip II., the Dutch carried it on on their own account, and speedily rivalled the merchants of Spain in every part of the globe. In 1583, Huygen van Linschoten made the first voyage to the East Indies, whither, in 1595, Cornelius Houtmann sailed with a small fleet and planted the banner of the republic in Java, where it still flutters in the breeze. In 1596, the united fleets of Holland and England took the rich commercial town of Cadiz and burned it to the ground. During the same year Linschoten and Heemskerk set out on an expedition for the discovery of a northeastern passage to China. The Dutch had long maintained commercial relations with Russia, and Archangel had been founded by Adrian Kryt; the enterprise, nevertheless, failed, the ships being icebound in the Frozen Ocean, and Heemskerk compelled to winter on Nova Zembla. In 1599, Stephen van der Hagen opened the spice trade with the islands of Molucca; in 1601, van Neck, the tea trade with China, and van Spilbergen, the cinnamon trade with Ceylon. An incessant struggle for the empire of the sea was meanwhile carried on between Holland, Spain, and Portugal, the two latter of which had already colonized parts of the New World. The English Channel was, in 1605, blockaded by Houtain, the Dutch admiral; no Spanish ship

was permitted to reach the coast of Holland, and all the Spaniards who fell into his hands were drowned. The Dutch fleets incessantly harassed the Spanish coasts. In 1608, Verhoeven settled in Calicut, on the Coromandel coast. One of his ships visited Japan in 1609, and discovered a Dutch sailor, named Adam, who had been cast on the shore, living there in great repute. A connection with this country was formed at a later period by van den Broek, who, aware of the great importance of the island of Java as the centre of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, erected, A.D. 1618, the fortress of Batavia, which speedily grew into an extensive city. In 1614, van Noordt followed on the track of the Spaniards in the Southern Ocean, and, in 1615, Schouten sailed round the southern point of America, named by him Cape Horn, in honor of his native town, Hoorn. New Zealand was discovered about the same time and named after the province of Seeland. Hudson, in 1610, had also discovered the extreme north of America, and the bay named after him. The English, jealous of his success, seized and starved him to death. Numbers of his countrymen followed in his track, and, in 1614, added the whale fishery to those of codfish and herrings, which were almost exclusively in their hands.

The mean jealousy of the Hanse towns met with its fitting reward, their commerce gradually declining as that of Holland rose. Their prohibition of English manufactures caused the expulsion of all the Hanseatics from England and the instalment of the Dutch in their stead, A.D. 1598.

Maurice inherited little of the noble sincerity of his father, and viewed with jealous eyes the despotic power wielded by the neighboring princes. The peace, to which he had been forced to accede by Henry IV. of France, the friend of reform, the commercial prosperity, the increase of the navy, the colonial and civil wealth, and the republican spirit of Holland, were alike distasteful to him, but, compelled to relinquish the hope of executing his tyrannical projects by force of arms, he concealed them beneath a mask of re-

ligion, and made use of means the best calculated, in those fanatical times, to work upon the multitude.

At the new university of Leyden, Justus Lipsius had gained great fame for learning, and Gomarus, the Calvinist, for orthodoxy and zeal. Another deeply-learned and talented preacher, Arminius (Harmsen), who had successfully combated the doctrine of predestination, being also appointed to a professor's chair at Leyden, Gomarus, who, like the rest of his Calvinistic brethren of that period, professed ultra-liberalism, but acted with a bigotry equalling that of the Catholics and Lutherans, instantly raised a cry of heresy. The attempts made by Hugo Grotius, the most eminent scholar and statesman of the age, to reconcile the adverse parties, were rendered futile by political intrigue. Maurice, instigated by resentment against Olden Barneveldt, the most popular and influential of the statesmen of Holland, declared in favor of Gomarus.[1] The Arminians defended themselves in a remonstrance to the states-general, whence they gained the name of Remonstrants. The Gomarists, supported by Maurice, however, gained the victory, and Olden Barneveldt, Hugo Grotius, with their friends Hogerbeet and Ledenberg, were, at Maurice's command, arrested in the name of the states-general, which were in utter ignorance of the affair. The Remonstrants, fearful of sharing the fate of their leaders, fled the country. The town councils and the states-general were biassed by the creatures of the prince, and the prisoners were judged by a criminal court acting solely under his influence. By the great synod convoked at Dordrecht as a cloak for his crime, the Remonstrants were condemned unheard as abominable heretics, while Maurice loaded the Gomarists with favors, A.D. 1619. Ledenberg, in order to escape the rack, stabbed himself with a knife. Olden Barneveldt, an old man of seventy-two, the most faithful

[1] His ignorance was such that he, on one occasion, demanded of an Arminian "how he could uphold such nonsense as a belief in predestination?" and on being told that was the doctrine of the Gomarists and not of the Arminians, pretended to disbelieve the assertion.

servant of the republic, the founder of its real grandeur, of its navy, was condemned to death, as a disturber of the unity of the state and of the church of God. He addressed the people from the scaffold in the following words, "Fellow citizens, believe me, I am no traitor to my country. A patriot have I lived and a patriot will I die." Maurice, by whom the people had been deceived with false reports against their only true friends, pretended to mourn for his death and to lament the treason that had led to his condemnation, A.D. 1619. Hogerbeet and Grotius were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The latter escaped from the castle of Löwenstein, in which he was immured, by means of his wife, Maria, von Reigersberg, who concealed and had him carried away in a chest of books.

Popular disturbances ensued. Several insurrections were quelled by force; the secret assemblage of the Remonstrants was strictly prohibited and the censorship of the press established. The two sons of Olden Barneveldt conspired against the life of Maurice, were discovered and executed, A.D. 1623. Maurice expired A.D. 1625. Conscious of the inevitable discovery of the artifice with which he had studiously slandered his victims and deceived the Dutch, and of the infamy attached to his name, he enjoined his brother, and successor, Frederick, with his dying breath, to recall the Remonstrants.

CCIII. *Rudolph the Second*

THE rest of Germany beheld the great struggle in the Netherlands with almost supine indifference. The destruction of the Calvinistic Dutch was not unwillingly beheld by the Lutherans. The demand for assistance addressed, A.D. 1570, by the Dutch to the diet at Worms received for reply that Spain justly punished them as rebels against the principle of *cujus regio, ejus religio*. The Lutheran princes, either sunk in luxury and vice, or mere adepts in intrigue, shared the peaceful inclinations of their Catholic neighbors. The moderation of the emperor, Maximilian II., also greatly

contributed to the maintenance of tranquillity, but still far more so the cunning policy with which the Jesuits secretly encouraged the internal dissensions of the Reformers while watching for a fitting opportunity again to act on the offensive.

Maximilian II. had, shortly before his death, been elected king of Poland, and great might have been the result had he been endowed with higher energies. The Jagellons became extinct with Sigismund Augustus, A.D. 1572. The capricious Polish nobles, worked upon by the agents of the French monarch, raised Henry of Anjou to the throne, which that prince speedily and voluntarily renounced for that of France. Maximilian was elected king by one faction, and Stephen Bathori, prince of Transylvania, by another. Maximilian ceded his claim and expired shortly afterward, A.D. 1575. The Jesuits were accused of having taken him off by poison, through jealousy of his inclination to favor the Reformation. The beautiful Philippina Welser is also said to have been murdered in the castle of Ambras by opening her veins in a bath, A.D. 1576.

Maximilian was succeeded by his son, Rudolph II., a second Frederick III. This prince devoted his whole thoughts to his horses, of which he possessed an immense number, although he never mounted them; to the collection of natural curiosities and pictures; to the study of alchemy and astrology, in which he was assisted by the Dane, Tycho de Brahe, and by Kepler,[1] the great German astronomer. Tycho is said to have drawn his horoscope and to have foretold his

[1] This extraordinary man, to whom we are indebted for the discovery of the laws which regulate the movements of the planetary bodies, their ellipticity, etc., was born in 1571, at Wiel, in Swabia. While a boy, tending sheep, he passed his nights in the fields, and by his observation acquired his first knowledge of astronomy. His discovery was condemned by the Tübingen university as contrary to the Bible. He was about to destroy his work, when an asylum was granted to him at Grætz, which he afterward quitted for the imperial court. He was, notwithstanding his Lutheran principles, tolerated by the Jesuits, who knew how to value scientific knowledge. He was solely persecuted in his native country, where he with difficulty saved his mother from being burned as a witch. He was also in the service of the celebrated General Wallenstein. He died, A.D. 1630, at Ratisbon.

death by the hand of his own son, in consequence of which he forswore marriage and lived in constant seclusion. He was subject to fits of fury resembling madness. His sleeping apartment was strongly barred like a prison, so great was his apprehension of a violent death.

Rudolph bestowed no attention upon the empire; he, nevertheless, permitted Melchior Clesel, bishop of Vienna, and the Jesuits, to attempt to bring about a reaction in his hereditary provinces against the Protestants, who, deeming themselves secure under his father's sceptre, had, contrary to agreement, erected churches on spots not immediately belonging to the privileged nobility. In 1579, every unprivileged cure was seized and the public instruction placed exclusively in the hands of the Catholics, a proceeding extremely mild when compared with the merciless extirpation of the Calvinists in Saxony, of the Lutherans in the Pfalz, etc.

The great victories of the Dutch, the decided inclination of Elizabeth, queen of England, and of Henry IV. of France, to Calvinism, suddenly raised that sect to a high degree of influence, which was further increased by the defection of several of the princes from Lutheranism through disgust at the doctrines taught by the clergy. Immediately after the triumph gained by the Lutherans by means of the concordat, the only Calvinistic prince remaining in Germany, the Pfalzgraf, John Casimir, brother to Louis, the Lutheran elector, had, at a congress held at Frankfort on the Maine, A.D. 1577, demanded aid from England and France. He had himself levied a troop of German auxiliaries for the French Huguenots. On the death of his brother, he undertook the guardianship of his infant nephew, Frederick IV., A.D. 1585; all the Lutherans were instantly expelled the Pfalz and the tenets of Calvin imposed upon the people.

It was about this period that Gebhard, elector of Cologne, born Count Truchsess (dapifer) von Waldburg, a young, gentle-hearted, but somewhat thoughtless man, embraced Calvinism. His equally worldly-minded predecessor, Salentin von Ysenburg, had, A.D. 1577, after persecuting the

Lutherans, suddenly renounced his office and wedded a Countess von Ahremberg, an example Gebhard was inclined to follow, but without relinquishing his position. He had already become notorious for easy morality, when, one day, looking from his balcony, he beheld, in a passing procession, the Countess Agnes von Mansfeld, canoness of the noble convent of Gerrisheim near Dusseldorf, the most beautiful woman of the day, and becoming violently enamored, called her into his presence, and, by his united charms of rank, youth, and beauty, quickly inspired her with a corresponding passion. The Lutheran Counts von Mansfeld, speedily informed of the connection between their sister and the archbishop, hastened to Bonn, where they were holding court together, and compelled the archbishop to restore their sister's honor by a formal marriage. The Calvinists in the Pfalz, in Holland, and France, however, promising him their aid on condition of his reforming the whole of the Colognese territory, and inspiring him with the hope of rendering his possessions hereditary in his family, he embraced the tenets of Calvin, and consequently deprived himself of the support of the strict Lutherans. He was himself completely devoid of energy. The bishop of his cathedral, Frederick von Saxon-Lauenburg, who grasped at the archiepiscopal mitre, almost the entire chapter and the citizens of Cologne, declared against him. His predecessor, Salentin von Ysenburg, actuated by jealousy, also opposed him. On the day on which Gebhard solemnized his wedding at Bonn, the bishop took possession of the city of Kaiserswerth, February 2, 1583. The majority of the people were against him. The pope put him under an interdict; the emperor and the empire were bound by the ecclesiastical proviso; the Lutherans refused their aid through jealousy of the Calvinists. Ernest, duke of Bavaria, bishop of Liege and Freysingen, was elected archbishop in his stead, and invaded his territory. The Pfalzgraf, John Casimir, to whom he had in his terror mortgaged the whole of the electorate of Cologne, was too deeply engaged in the expulsion of the Lutherans from the Pfalz to

lend him the requisite aid, and left him to his fate. The whole of the electorate was speedily in the hands of the Bavarian duke, and Gebhard took refuge in Zutphen, whence he escaped to William of Orange. Agnes secretly visited England and applied for assistance to Essex, the queen's favorite, but was instantly expelled the country by the jealous queen, who refused to see her. Gebhard's adherents, meanwhile, ravaged the country around Neuss, but were forced to capitulate by the Spanish under the duke of Parma, to whom Ernest had turned for aid. The cause of the expelled archbishop now became hopeless, and, A.D. 1589, he withdrew with Agnes, to whom he ever remained faithful, to Strasburg, where he had formerly held the office of deacon. He died in 1601, leaving no issue. Agnes survived him; the period of her death and her burial-place are unknown.

Ernest of Cologne, who became at the same time bishop of Munster, Liege, and Hildesheim, favored the Jesuits, and persecuted the Protestants with the greatest rigor in Aix-la-Chapelle. The Catholic league, meanwhile, incessantly carried on hostilities against the Huguenots, whose leader, Henry of Bourbon, the first of that line, mounted the throne of France, A.D. 1589. This monarch was greatly seconded in his war with the league by the Reformed Swiss, under Louis von Erlach, and by the Calvinistic prince, Christian von Anhalt. The Landgrave, Maurice of Hesse-Cassel, openly embraced Calvinism, A.D. 1592. The separation of Hessian Darmstadt from Cassel took place, A.D. 1614. It was brought about by the Lutheran prince, Louis of Darmstadt, Maurice's cousin, in direct opposition to the will of the provincial Estates. Maurice[1] was one of the most eminent among the princes of his time, witty and learned, deeply versed in classic literature and art, well acquainted with modern and foreign cultivation and customs, and not the less zealous for the improvement of Germany. The Margrave, Ernest Fred-

[1] This prince was the first inventor of the telegraph, an invention that did not come into use until long after.

erick of Baden-Durlach, became a convert to Calvin, and imposed his tenets on his Lutheran subjects. He died of apoplexy, A.D. 1604, when marching upon Pforzheim, whose citizens had resisted his tyranny. John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, also embraced Calvinism, the faith of the citizens of Juliers, Cleve, and Berg, his subjects by inheritance. He incurred great unpopularity by his toleration of Lutheranism in Brandenburg.

The Catholic party had gradually gained internal strength. Paul IV. commenced the restoration; Pius IV. gave a new constitution to the Catholic world by the resolutions of the council of Trent; Pius V. exchanged the shepherd's staff for the fagot and the sword, and, by his example, sanctified the cruelties perpetrated by Philip II.; Gregory XIII., the representative of Jesuit learning, put the Protestants to shame with his improved Calendar, which was published, A.D. 1584, and violently protested against at the imperial diet by the Lutherans, who preferred an erroneous computation of time to anything, however accurate, proceeding from a pope; and finally, Sixtus V. again displayed the whole pomp of the triumphant church from 1585 to 1590.

The Jesuits had rapidly spread over the whole of the Catholic world, and, solely opposed by the Dominicans, jealous of the power they had hitherto possessed, had placed all beneath their rule. The Franciscans, so influential over the people, were replaced by another Jesuitical body of begging monks, drawn from their ranks, the Capuchins, who were commissioned to work upon the lower, as the Jesuits did upon the higher, classes. Permanent nunciatures, as advanced posts noting the movements of the enemy and of the confederation, were stationed, in 1570, at Luzerne, in 1588, at Brussels, Cologne, and Vienna.

The Reformers had entirely lost sight of the ancient church in the midst of their internal dissensions, nor was it until the publication of Cardinal Bellarmin's subtle criticism on the Reformation in 1581, and that of Pope Gregory's

celebrated bull *in cœna Domini* in 1584, on the one side, and of the history of the order of Jesus by the renegade Jesuit, Hasenmuller, in which he lays bare all its evil practices and exaggerates its crimes, in 1586, on the other side, that polemics again raged and the press vented its venom on both parties.

The bishoprics continued a material object of discord; those to the north of Germany had irrecoverably fallen into the hands of the princes of Brandenburg, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, and Saxon-Lauenburg. The possession of others was a matter of uncertainty. In Upper Germany and in Switzerland, the Catholics greatly increased in strength and daring, and the confederates, instigated by the Jesuits, took up arms against one another. In 1586, the Catholic cantons, influenced by Louis Pfyffers of Lucerne, the head of the Catholics, surnamed the Swiss king, concluded the golden or Borromean league with St. Charles Borromeo for the extermination of heretics. This league raged so fearfully in Italy that numbers of Reformers fled thence to Zurich; hence the celebrated Zurich names of Pestalozzi, Orelli, etc.

The favor lavished by Stephen Bathori, king of Poland, upon the Catholic party, afforded the Jesuits an opportunity to spread themselves over Livonia and Polish-Prussia. They were, however, driven out of Riga by the Lutheran citizens, A.D. 1587, and out of Dantzig in a similar manner, A.D. 1606.

Clement VIII., meanwhile, intent upon extending his temporal sway in Italy, had, on the death of Alfonso, the last Marquis of the house of Este, A.D. 1595, seized Ferrara and forcibly annexed that duchy to the dominions of the church. His successor, Paul V., zealously persecuted the heretics, and, during his long reign, from 1605 to 1621, incessantly encouraged discord and dissension.

Bavaria displayed the greatest zeal in the Catholic cause. Baden-Durlach, whose Margrave, Philip, had fallen at Montoncourt fighting for the Huguenots, had been re-catholicized by Duke Albert, the guardian of Philip's infant son. Albert's successors, William, A.D. 1579, and Maximilian, A.D.

1598, befriended the Jesuits. In 1570, all the wealthy inhabitants of Munich took refuge in the Lutheran imperial cities. These proceedings were far from indifferent to the Calvinists, the most courageous among the Reformers. Frederick IV., elector of the Pfalz, exhorted the Lutherans to make common cause with the rest of the Reformers, but was solely listened to by Wurtemberg and the Margraves of Franconia, who entered into a union with him at Anhausen, A.D. 1608, which was joined, A.D. 1609, by Brandenburg and opposed by Maximilian of Bavaria, who convoked the Catholic princes, with whom he concluded a holy alliance. Party hatred was still further inflamed, A.D. 1610, on the death of the last duke of Juliers, Cleve, Berg, Mark, and Ravensberg, when those splendid countries fell to the nearest of kin, John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, and Wolfgang William, Pfalzgraf of Neuburg, both Reformed princes. The majority of the people was also Reformed. The Catholic party, led by Bavaria, had, in the hope of frustrating the expectations of their antagonists, compelled Jacobea of Baden,[1] who was educated at Munich, to bestow her hand upon the imbecile duke, John William, A.D. 1585. This scheme, however, failed; the duke went completely mad, and Jacobea remained childless. The government was seized by his sister, Sibylla, an elderly maiden, totally devoid of personal graces, who, jealous of Jacobea's beauty and aided by the Catholic party, set the now useless victim aside. Jacobea was, under a false pretext, seized, accused of sorcery, and strangled in prison, after undergoing a variety of tortures. Antonia of Lorraine was the next victim bestowed upon the duke, in the hope of raising a progeny in the Catholic branch, but also remaining childless, she was sent back to Lorraine, and Sibylla, in her forty-ninth year, wedded Charles, Margrave of Burgau. Her hopes of issue were also frustrated, and,

[1] Her portrait is still to be seen at Dusseldorf. She was uncommonly beautiful and captivating. She loved a Count von Manderscheid, who, on the news of her marriage, became insane. The pope sent his benediction on the marriage of this lovely woman with the imbecile duke, and presented the unhappy bride with a golden rose.

on the death of John William, in 1609, the whole of the rich inheritance fell to the Reformed branch, which, aided by France, finally succeeded in expelling Sibylla's faction, which was supported by the Spanish Netherlands.

The united princes, meanwhile, took the field, but again laid down arms on the death of the elector of the Pfalz and the murder of Henry of Navarre by Ravaillac, the tool of the Jesuits. Brandenburg and Neuburg remained in peaceable possession of the Juliers-Cleve inheritance, until a quarrel breaking out between them, the Pfalzgraf embraced Catholicism and called the League and the Spaniards to his aid. The matter was, nevertheless, settled by negotiation, Brandenburg taking Cleve, Mark, and Ravensberg; Neuburg, Juliers and Berg, A.D. 1614. They were, however, still destined not to hold the lands in peace, the emperor attempting to place them under sequestration as property lapsed to the crown; the Dutch and Spaniards again interfered in the dispute that ensued, and shortly afterward the great war broke out. John Sigismund succeeded the imbecile duke, Frederick Albert, on the throne of Prussia, A.D. 1614, where, during that stormy period, the Brandenburgs with difficulty secured their footing.

PART XVIII

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

CCIV. *Great Religious Disturbances in Austria—Defeat of the Bohemians*

THE projects laid by the emperor Maximilian II. were, even during his lifetime, frustrated by his brother, Charles, the ultra-Catholic archduke in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. This energetic man, who, by his settlement of the military colonies in Croatia, in the heart of which he erected, A.D. 1580, the metropolis of Carlstadt, had greatly served the empire, violently opposed the Protestants, established the Jesuits at Grætz, and by his virulent persecution of the Lutheran communes in the mountain districts drove them to rebel, A.D. 1573. The peasantry throughout Styria and Carniola revolted, but were reduced to submission by the Uzkokes,[1] wild Slavonian robbers, called for that purpose from the mountains of Dalmatia.

The violent abolition of the religious liberty of the privileged cities by Rudolph II. called forth an energetic remonstrance from the whole of the provincial Estates, that drew from him the grant of four privileged churches at Grætz, Judenburg, Clagenfurt, and Laibach, A.D. 1578, which were, nevertheless, destroyed by the Archduke Charles, at whose command twelve thousand German Bibles and other Lutheran books were burned by the public executioner at Grætz, A.D. 1579. The Lutheran preachers were gradually superseded by Catholic clergy in all the cities, the chartered towns not excepted, and the citizens were compelled to recant.

[1] These barbarians afterward greatly annoyed his son, the emperor Ferdinand II., who, at the entreaty of Venice, interdicted their piracy in the Adriatic.

The privileges of the nobility were still held sacred, but the principle, *cujus regio, ejus religio*, was in some measure even applied to them, no Lutheran lord being permitted to take a Catholic peasant into his service unless born on his estates. The Estates, perceiving their demands unheeded by their sovereign, laid their complaints, A.D. 1582, before the diet of the empire, in the hope of being protected by the Lutheran princes. But here also their hopes were frustrated by the pitiless axiom, *cujus regio, ejus religio*. The Jesuits, emboldened by this defeat, redoubled their attacks; numbers of Lutheran preachers were incarcerated, but were partly restored to liberty by the enraged peasantry. The movement gradually increased, and, A.D. 1588, the archduke was merely saved from assassination at Judenburg by the magnanimity of a Lutheran preacher. An insurrection broke out simultaneously in the archbishopric of Salzburg. Tumultuous meetings, the violent seizure of the preachers and the armed opposition of the peasantry, were annually renewed in Austria from 1594.

The persecution of the Austrian Protestants raged with redoubled violence on the accession of the Archduke Ferdinand, A.D. 1596. His Jesuitical preceptors had carefully prepared him from his earliest childhood for the part they intended him to perform, and he had solemnly vowed at the shrine of the Virgin at Loretto to extirpate heresy from his dominions. The actions and principles of his uncle, Philip II., the model on which he formed himself, were merciful in comparison with his. Unwarlike, nay, effeminate in his habits, ever surrounded by Jesuits and women, he, nevertheless, possessed a bigoted obstinacy of character that naught had power to soften, and, while tranquilly residing in Vienna, willing tools were easily found to execute his horrid projects. His first act, in answer to the renewed petitions of the Estates for religious liberty, was the erection of gallows throughout the country for the evangelical preachers, the demolition of their churches, nay, the desecration of the churchyards by the disinterment of the dead. In Laibach, where the most

resolute resistance was offered, the pastors were torn from their pulpits, the citizens that refused to recant expelled, and their goods confiscated. The opposition of the Estates was weakened by the dissolution of their union, those of Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola being compelled to hold separate assemblies. The Estates, refused aid by their brethren in belief, were driven by necessity to demand assistance from their foreign neighbors. Venice was too Catholic, Hungary too deeply occupied with her internal affairs and the war with the Turks, to listen to their entreaties. Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, took advantage of the gradual decadence of the Turkish empire, on the one hand, and of the religious war in Germany, on the other, to found an independent power in Hungary. The German Transylvanians had been converted to Lutheranism, A.D. 1533, and were, at this period, in close alliance with the German Lutherans. Rudolph II., with the view of reconverting them to Catholicism, instigated the Hungarians against them, and the Saxons were actually declared in the Hungarian diet, A.D. 1590, serfs to the Hungarians, there being no noblemen among them. The national Graf, Hutter, however, rose in their defence, and openly told the magnates before the whole assembly that "Labor was nobler than robbery," and succeeded in repealing their decision. The Transylvanian Saxons, as a protection against the Jesuits, formed a union, A.D. 1613, and bound themselves by oath to stand up as one man in defence of their political freedom and of the Augsburg Confession, never to accept of nobility, and ever to preserve their equality, the condition of their freedom.

Thus, Tyrol alone excepted, all the hereditary possessions of the house of Habsburg had favored the Reformation, and were, in point of fact, Reformed. Catholicism was, nevertheless, reimposed, by means of political intrigue, on the whole of this immense population.

The archdukes, less influenced by the discord that prevailed throughout the empire than by the disturbances in

the hereditary provinces, which caused the Habsburgs to totter on the throne, resolved, A.D. 1606, to install Matthias in the place of his spiritless brother, the emperor Rudolph. This event afforded a glimmer of hope to the oppressed Protestants. Matthias speedily found himself at the head of an army, and compelled the emperor to cede Hungary and Austria. Rudolph, shaken from his slumbers, hastened unexpectedly to Prague, where, sacrificing the principle on which he had hitherto governed, the exclusive rule of the Catholic form of worship, to his enmity toward his brother, he fully restored the privileges anciently enjoyed by the Utraquists, and, A.D. 1609, promulgated the famous letter patent, the palladium of Bohemia, by which her political and religious liberty was confirmed. The storm had, however, no sooner passed than, regretting his generosity, he allowed his cousin, the Archduke Leopold, bishop of Passau, whom, notwithstanding his priestly office, he destined for his successor on the throne, to assemble a considerable body of troops at Passau, invade and devastate Bohemia, and take possession of the Kleine Seite of Prague. The Bohemians under Matthias, Count von Thurn, made a gallant defence, and several bloody engagements took place. The rage of the Bohemians was, however, chiefly directed against the Jesuits, who were accused of having instigated this attack upon their liberties, and Rudolph, deeply suspected by the citizens of Prague of participating in the plot, was kept prisoner by them until Leopold voluntarily retreated on the news of the approach of Matthias from Hungary. Rudolph was compelled to abdicate the throne of Bohemia in favor of his brother, whose coronation was solemnized amid the joyful acclamations of the people, on whom he lavished fresh privileges. "Ungrateful Prague!" exclaimed the deposed monarch, as he looked down upon the gorgeous city from his palace window, "Ungrateful Prague! to me dost thou owe thy wondrous beauty, and thus hast thou repaid my benefits. May the vengeance of Heaven strike thee, and my curse light upon thee and the whole of Bohemia!"

The Bohemians, enchanted with Matthias's liberality, prudently sought to draw a real advantage from, and to strengthen their constitution by, his deceptive concessions. The fallacy of their hopes is clearly proved by the fact of Ferdinand's having annihilated in the mountains every trace of the liberty so deceitfully planted by his uncles and sovereigns in Bohemia. Shortly before the Christmas of the same year, 1610, the Passau troops made a second incursion into Upper Austria and cruelly harassed the Protestant inhabitants.

Matthias succeeded to the imperial crown on the death of Rudolph II., A.D. 1612, and, unable to recall past events, peaceably withdrew from public life, committing the government to his nephew, Ferdinand, whom he caused to be proclaimed king of Bohemia, and who was destined to discover the little accordance between the system of oppression pursued by him in the mountains and the letters patent issued by Rudolph. Ferdinand treated his uncle with the basest ingratitude, depriving him of the society of his old friend, Cardinal Clesel, and treating him with the deepest contempt. The poor old man was at length carried off by gout, A.D. 1617. Clesel had drawn upon himself the ill-will of the youthful tyrant, by expressing a hope that Bohemia might be treated with lenity, to which Ferdinand replied, "Better a desert than a country full of heretics." The only descendants of the house of Habsburg still remaining in Germany were Ferdinand II., his two brothers, Leopold, bishop of Passau, and Charles, bishop of Breslau. The throne of Spain was, A.D. 1621, mounted by Philip IV. (grandson to Philip II.), whose brother, Ferdinand, became a cardinal and the stadtholder of the Netherlands.

The arrival of Ferdinand with his Jesuitical counsellors at Prague filled Bohemia with dread, nor was it diminished by his hypocritical oath to hold the letters patent granted by Rudolph sacred; for how could a Jesuit be bound by an oath? The principles on which he acted had been clearly shown by his behavior at Grætz and Laibach. The Jesuits no longer

concealed their hopes, and the world was inundated with pamphlets, describing the measures to be taken for the extirpation of heresy throughout Europe, and for the restoration of the only true church.

Ferdinand speedily quitted Bohemia, leaving the government in the hands of Slawata (a man who, for a wealthy bride, had renounced Protestantism, and who cruelly persecuted his former brethren) and Martinitz, who sought to ensnare the people and systematically to suppress their rights. A strict censorship was established; Jesuitical works were alone unmutilated. Religious liberty, although legally possessed by the nobility alone, had, by right of custom, extended to the Protestant citizens, more especially since the grant of the letters patent by the emperor, Rudolph II.; but they no sooner ventured to erect new churches at Braunau and Klostergrab than an order for their demolition was issued by Ferdinand, who, treating the representations of the Estates with silent contempt, their long-suppressed discontent broke forth, and, at the instigation of Count Thurn, they flung Slawata and Martinitz, after loading them with bitter reproaches, together with their secretary, Fabricius, according to old Bohemian custom, out of the window of the council-house on the Radschin. They fell thirty-five yards. Martinitz and the secretary [1] escaped unhurt, being cast upon a heap of litter and old papers; Slawata was dreadfully shattered, and was carried into a neighboring house, that of a Princess Schwarzenberg, where he remained unmolested. This event occurred May 23, 1618, and from this day dates the commencement of the thirty years' war.

The first act of the Bohemian Estates under the direction of Count Thurn was the expulsion of the Jesuits, in which they were imitated by the rest of the hereditary provinces, Silesia under the rule of John George, duke of Brandenburg-Jægerndorf, Moravia under its principal leader, the Baron

[1] He afterward received the title of Hohenfall. He is said to have fallen upon Martinitz, and, notwithstanding the horror of the moment, to have politely asked pardon for his involuntary rudeness.

Frederick von Teuffenbach, Austria, whose chief representative was Erasmus von Tschernembl, and Hungary under Bethlen Gabor (Gabriel Bathory). A list of grievances was sent to Vienna, and religious liberty was demanded as the condition of their continued recognition of Ferdinand's authority.

Ferdinand, without deigning a reply, instantly raised two small bodies of troops, which he intrusted to the command of Dampierre and Bouquoi, the former a Frenchman, the latter a Spaniard, while he continued to levy men in Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands; but Thurn, marching at the head of the Bohemians upon Vienna, he avoided falling into his hands by going to Frankfort on the Maine, A.D. 1619, where the Lutheran princes, gained over by his Jesuitical artifices, elected and crowned him emperor of Germany. Every trace of the scruples formerly raised against the election of Charles V. and of Ferdinand I. had vanished.

The Estates of Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, Hungary, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, abandoned as usual in the moment of need by their Protestant brethren, now closely confederated, and took Count Ernest von Mansfeld, who had served with distinction in the Netherlands, with fourteen thousand German mercenaries, into their service. Bouquoi, after defeating Mansfeld at Pilsen, marched into Hungary against Bethlen Gabor, while Dampierre, worsted in Moravia by Teuffenbach, retired upon the Danube, where the Upper Austrians, under Stahremberg, lay in wait for the emperor on his return from Frankfort. Ferdinand, however, avoided them by passing through Styria to Vienna. That city was instantly besieged by Thurn and Bethlen Gabor, and the Viennese, who, notwithstanding the practices of the Jesuits, were still evangelically inclined, stormed the palace and demanded a formal grant of the free exercise of their religion. At this moment Dampierre's cavalry entered the palace-yard. The citizens withdrew, and the Bohemians and Hungarians, weakened by famine and sickness, and threatened to the rear by a fresh enemy

raised against them by Ferdinand's diplomatic arts, also speedily retreated. The Cossacks (not those of the Ukraine), the rudest of the Lithuanian tribes, were invited into Austria by the emperor for the purpose of converting the people by fire, sword, and pillage. A Spanish army under Verdugo also crossed the Alps and defeated Mansfeld at Langen-Loys. The Bohemians and Hungarians were, meanwhile, victorious over the Poles, and, in the midst of the tumult of war, elected Frederick V., elector of the Pfalz, king of Bohemia, and Bethlen Gabor king of Hungary, in the stead of the emperor, A.D. 1620.

The behavior of the German princes during the war in Austria was more deeply than ever marked by treachery and weakness. Never has a great period produced baser characters, never has a sacred cause found more unworthy champions. The projects harbored by the pope, the emperor, Spain, and France, for the complete suppression of the Reformation, were well known, and could alone be frustrated by a prompt and firm coalition on the part of the Protestant princes. George William of Brandenburg, John George of Saxony, Louis of Darmstadt, John Frederick of Wurtemberg, and the Margrave, Joachim Ernest, of Brandenburg, bribed by personal interest or actuated by cowardice and by jealousy of the Pfalzgraf, abandoned their brethren to their fate, and took part with the emperor. Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, who, notwithstanding his youth, was at the head of the Catholic League, had, through jealousy of his cousin the Pfalzgraf, sacrificed the brilliant prospects of his house, and headed the Wittelsbach against the Wittelsbach in a war profitable alone to the Habsburg. Conscious of this false step, he endeavored, although the ally of the Habsburg, to curb the power of the emperor, and to retain his position as the head of Catholic Germany. For this purpose, he long delayed advancing to his aid, until actually compelled, by the fear of losing the laurels he hoped to win, to take the field at the head of his whole force, after concluding an alliance at Wurzburg with his brother Ferdinand in

Cologne, and Schweighart, elector of Mayence, in which Lothar of Treves and Louis of Darmstadt also joined, and after protecting his rear by making terms, as creditable to him as a statesman as they were scandalous in the opposite party, in the name of the League with the Union, the duke of Wurtemberg promising to discharge the troops of the Union, Bavaria on her part undertaking to leave the Lutheran and Reformed countries, including the Pfalz, Bohemia alone excepted, unharassed by the League.

Frederick, elector of the Pfalz, a young and ambitious man, whose projects were ever seconded by his wife, Elizabeth, a zealous Calvinist, the daughter of James I. of England, had placed himself without difficulty, owing to the supine indifference of the rest of the united princes, at the head of the Union. His ineptitude for government was, however, speedily discovered by the Bohemians, by whom he had been elected king and received with the greatest enthusiasm. Frederick was merely fitted for parade, and was, perhaps, the most incapable of the reigning princes of his time, for he never allowed others to govern in his name. The Lutheran princes, jealous of the increased importance of the Pfalz, and inimical to him on account of his Calvinistic tenets, abandoned him. His introduction of the French tongue and of French customs and fashions into his court created great dissatisfaction among his Bohemian subjects, which was still further increased by his encouragement of the attacks made from the pulpit by his chaplain, Scultetus, upon the Utraquists and Lutherans, and by the demolition of the ornaments still remaining in the churches at Prague. The crucifixes and pictures were torn down and destroyed. The attempt to demolish the great stone crucifix on the bridge over the Moldau caused a revolt, which Thurn was alone able to quell. Peace was restored, but Frederick had forfeited the affection of his subjects. Instead of attaching the Bohemian aristocracy to his person, he showered favors upon two poor nobles, distinguished neither by their talents nor by their characters, Christian, prince of Anhalt, and

George Frederick, Count von Hohenlohe, by whom Count Mansfeld, whose birth was illegitimate, was treated with such marked contempt that he withdrew with his troops from the royal army. The terms stipulated, A.D. 1620, between the League and the Union also deprived Frederick of the aid of the latter, Bohemia being expressly given up as a prey to the former. His alliance with Turkey, moreover, greatly contributed to increase his unpopularity with every party.

While the Protestants were thus weakened by their own treachery and disunion, the Catholics acted with redoubled vigor. Spinola marched from the Netherlands at the head of twenty thousand men and systematically plundered the Pfalz. The cries of the people at length struck upon the dulled sense of the united princes. Wurtemberg tremblingly demanded, "Why the late stipulation was thus infringed?" and remained satisfied with the reply that Spinola, not being included in the League, was not bound to keep its stipulations; and the Union made a treaty with Spinola at Mayence, by which they consented to his remaining in the Pfalz on condition of the neighboring princes being left undisturbed. Heidelberg, Mannheim, and the Frankenthal were defended by the troops of Frederick Henry of Orange, who was abandoned by the rest of the united princes. Maximilian and his field-marshal, John T'serclaes,[1] Count von Tilly, a Dutchman, who had served under Alba, next invaded Upper Austria with a force of thirty thousand men. Linz yielded; the Estates were compelled to take the oath of fealty to the duke as the emperor's representative; Tschernembl fled to Geneva, where he died in want, A.D. 1626. The mountain peasantry, enraged at the capitulation of Linz by the panic-struck nobles, took up arms, but were unable to overtake the duke, who had, in the meantime, entered Bohemia, where numbers of the inhabitants were, on account of their determined resistance, cruelly butchered.

[1] T'serclaes signifies Sir Claus, Sir Nicolas.

Dampierre, sacrificing himself for the emperor, kept Bethlen Gabor at bay, though with an inferior force, but was finally defeated and slain before Presburg. The Hungarians poured in crowds around Vienna, while the League, joined by Bouquoi, Verdugo, and the whole of the imperial forces, left Vienna to the right and marched straight upon Prague, where the king, Frederick, little anticipated battle. Anhalt and Hohenlohe had fixed an encampment on the Weissen Berg, famed for Zizka's deeds of prowess; Mansfeld and the flower of the army were far away at Pilsen, and, before it was possible for him to advance to the relief of the metropolis, the enemy unexpectedly stormed the Weissen Berg, October 29, 1620. Christian of Anhalt rushed to the encounter and was wounded; the Hungarian auxiliaries fled and drew the Bohemians in their train. The Moravians made a valiant but futile resistance. The battle rolled onward to the gates of Prague, where the confusion was still further increased by the panic of the king. Prague was well fortified; the troops had, after suffering a trifling loss, entered the walls; an immense Hungarian army lay around Vienna; Mansfeld was at Pilsen; Upper Austria in open insurrection; four thousand men and ten cannons, left in the hurry of the moment on the Weissen Berg, comprised the whole amount of loss. But fear had paralyzed the senses of the monarch. Instead of, like the Hussites, intrenching himself behind his fortifications and awaiting the arrival of his friends, he yielded his metropolis without a blow, merely demanding twenty-four hours to prepare for his departure, notwithstanding which he left behind him his crown and most important documents, the whole archive of the Union, which fell into the hands of the imperialists. Frederick fled to Breslau, then further, never to return. One winter brought his reign to a close, hence he received the soubriquet of the winter-king.[1] Thurn also escaped.

The elector of Saxony, who had, meanwhile, occupied the

[1] Comes palatinus palans sine comite. He was pursued with satirical songs and caricatures.

Lausitz with his troops and had taken Bautzen and Zittau, now expelled the fugitive king of Bohemia from Silesia and compelled Breslau to do him homage as the emperor's representative. Frederick took refuge in Holland with his consort, whom the elector of Brandenburg had unwillingly permitted to remain at Frankfort on the Maine until after the birth of her son, Prince Maurice. The castle of Rhenen, in Holland, was granted as a residence to the exiled pair by the Prince of Orange.

Mansfeld, driven from Pilsen by Tilly, entered into a pretended negotiation with the emperor, who vainly attempted to bribe him to enter into his service, and had no sooner provided himself, by pillaging the country around Tachau, with horses, ammunition and money, than, forcing his way through Bamberg and Wurzburg, he escaped the imperialists under Maximilian and General Cordova, who had been left by Spinola, on his return to the Netherlands, in the Pfalz, where he had wintered. Tilly vainly pursued the fugitives; Mansfeld passed the Rhine and fixed himself in Alsace and Lorraine, ready, in case of necessity, to retreat upon Holland.

Bethlen Gabor, driven from both Vienna and Presburg by Bouquoi, was, in his turn, victorious over the Austrian faction under Count Palffy in Hungary, and was reinforced by Jægerndorf, who again took the field in Silesia. Bouquoi fell before Neuhausel. Mansfeld's expulsion, the open perfidy of the Union, and the threatening aspect of Poland, however, inclined Bethlen Gabor to make terms with the emperor, to whom he, consequently, resigned the Hungarian crown on condition of receiving seven districts and the title of prince of the empire. Jægerndorf, who now stood unaided and alone, was compelled to dismiss his troops, and the Silesian Estates credulously accepted the proffered mediation of the elector of Saxony, who promised to protect their religious liberty.

Ferdinand's apparent lenity greatly facilitated the subjection of Bohemia. For three months vengeance slum-

bered. With the cold-blooded hypocrisy of Alba, his master in deceit, he patiently waited until the Bohemians, lulled into security, had retaken their peaceful occupations, and the fugitives had regained their homes. On the 20th of February, 1621, the storm burst forth. All the popular leaders who had not escaped were arrested. Thurn was not to be found, but his friend, Count John Andreas von Schlick, a descendant of the celebrated chancellor, to whom the Habsburgs owed so much of their grandeur, was delivered by the perfidious elector of Saxony, to whom he had fled for shelter, to the headsman of Prague. His right hand and his head were struck off. Twenty-four nobles were beheaded, three citizens hanged, etc. Seven hundred and twenty-eight of the nobility, who were induced by a promise of pardon to confess their participation in the rebellion, were deprived of their estates. Forty million dollars were collected by confiscation alone. Five hundred noble and thirty-six thousand citizen families emigrated. Bohemia lost the whole of her ancient privileges. The letter patent granted by Rudolph was destroyed by the emperor's own hands. His confessor, the Jesuit Lamormain (Læmmermann), searched for and burned all heretical works, particularly those of the ancient Hussites. Nor did the dead escape; Rokizana's remains were disinterred and burned; Zizka's monument and every visible memorial of the heroism of Bohemia were destroyed. Every trace of religious liberty was annihilated, and the emperor, disregarding his promise to the elector of Saxony in regard to the Lutherans, declared himself bound in conscience to exterminate all heretics. Saxony, for form's sake, protested against this want of faith. The churches throughout Bohemia were reconsecrated by the Catholics; the Hussite pastors, who failed in making their escape, fell a prey to the savage soldiery. The peasantry were imprisoned by the hundred and compelled by famine to recant. The few Catholic nobles, Slawata, Martinitz, Mittrovski, Klenau, Czeyka, who had formerly been expelled the country, took a fearful revenge.

The emigrants were the most fortunate portion of the population. At Lissa, the citizens set fire to their own homes and fled into Saxony. A desperate resistance was here and there made by the people. The most valuable of the confiscated property was granted in donation to the Jesuits, who were triumphantly re-established in the country for the purpose of drugging the minds of the enslaved people, and so skilfully did they fulfil their office that, ere one generation had passed away, the bold, free-spirited, intelligent Bohemian was no longer to be recognized in the brutish creature, the offspring of their craft, that until very lately has vegetated unnoted by history.

A similar plan was pursued in Silesia, which had submitted on the guarantee of its religious liberty by the elector of Saxony. Jesuits or other monks, accompanied by a troop of the Lichtenstein dragoons, under Count Hannibal von Dohna, went from village to village, from one house to another, for the purpose of converting the inhabitants; pillage, torture, the murder or robbery of children, were the means resorted to. Emigration was prohibited. The emperor, not satisfied with suppressing religious liberty, also restricted the civil liberty of the Estates and metamorphosed the Silesian provincial Estates into a body of commissioners nominated by and subservient to him. Breslau and the duchies of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Oels, which were still governed by their petty immediate princes, were alone spared. Ferdinand, unable to suppress Protestantism in Hungary, secured his hereditary provinces from infection by commercial interdictions. His offer of pardon to a fugitive nobleman, Frederick von Roggendorf, on condition of his return to his country, received for answer, "What sort of pardon; a Bohemian one? Heads off! A Moravian one? Imprisonment for life! An Austrian one? Confiscation!" These horrors were enacted at Ferdinand's command, under the superintendence of his confessor, Lamormain, who styled himself, in reference to the immense confiscations that took place, "God's clerk of the exchequer!" Saxony received the Lausitz in pledge;

Brandenburg was invested with Prussia. Frederick of Bohemia, John George von Jægerndorf, and Mansfeld (on whose head a price was fixed), were put under the ban of the empire. Anhalt and Hohenlohe were pardoned. The Protestant Union voluntarily dissolved, A.D. 1621.

Disturbances, caused by the attempt made by the emperor to get the passes of the Grisons into his hands, on account of the communication with Spain and Italy, but more particularly for the purpose of cutting off that between Switzerland and Venice, which countenanced the Reformers, broke out simultaneously in Switzerland. The inhabitants of Veltlin were butchered, A.D. 1620, by the Spanish and Italian troops under the Archduke Leopold and Feria, governor of Milan; but the peasantry, excited to desperation by this outrage, rising en masse, the imperialists were driven out of the country, A.D. 1622. Teuffenbach, who had taken refuge in Switzerland from the troubles in Moravia, and who lay sick at Pfæffers, was, during this contest, seized by the people of Sargans, sold to Ferdinand's executioners, and beheaded at Innsbruck.

CCV. *Revolt of the Upper Austrians—Count Mansfeld*

THE Austrian nobility, impelled by fear and by the hope of reward, had yielded. Death and confiscation struck them with terror, while the splendid recompense bestowed by Ferdinand on the Count of Lichtenstein, whom he created prince and endowed with the whole of the confiscated lands of Jægerndorf and with Troppau in Silesia in return for his fidelity, induced many among the rest of the aristocracy to declare their adherence to the crown. The most resolute of the opposite party bade an eternal farewell to their country. The last resolution published by the emperor, in February, 1625, was as follows: "His imperial Majesty reserves to himself, to his heirs and successors, the complete control of religion," according to the principle of "cujus regio, ejus religio," perfectly independent of the pope, in right of his

political, not of his ecclesiastical supremacy. The Estates were forever prohibited the discussion of religious matters under pain of a fine of one million florins on the whole assembly, and a court of correction, empowered to confiscate the estates of all political offenders, was established at Vienna. The numbers of the nobility were by these means considerably reduced, and their confiscated property served to reward the few proselytes of the crown. In Austria, as in Bohemia, the numerous independent nobility possessed of petty estates was replaced by a small number of favorites and upstarts, some of whom introduced new and foreign races into the country, and on whom large tracts of land were bestowed. The people were forever deprived of their only organ, the Estates, on which they had reposed implicit confidence, by the flight and defection of the nobility; they were, notwithstanding, at that time far from being the blind, dull mass they afterward became, and among their ranks there were many men devoid neither of spirit nor intelligence.

Upper Austria had been consigned by Ferdinand to Maximilian of Bavaria by way of indemnification for the expenses of the war. The Count von Herberstorf, a man of an austere and cruel disposition, possessed of great personal courage, the stadtholder appointed by Bavaria over Linz, gave his soldiers license to plunder, vex, and murder the heretical peasantry. The whole country being Lutheran, the re-establishment of Catholicism was necessarily gradual. The magistracy, corporative privileges, the use of hospitals, the right of guardianship, were one by one withdrawn from the Lutherans; their children were torn from them and educated in the Catholic faith, their wills were declared invalid, etc. In 1624, all Lutherans who still publicly professed their faith were compelled to emigrate; in 1625, the external ceremonies of the Catholic Church, the fasts, the accompaniment of processions with banners, etc., were strictly enforced, and the Easter of 1626 was fixed as the term for the entire suppression of heresy throughout the country.

This decree was a signal for a last and desperate struggle

The people resolved to shed the last drop of their blood for the gospel rather than pollute themselves by participating in the devilish idolatry of their tyrannical master. The peasantry of the mere of Frankenburg first revolted, and expelled the priests engaged in purifying the church at Zwiespalten, by fumigation, from the smell of heresy. Herberstorf was, however, at hand, and, ordering seventeen of the peasants to be seized, had them hanged as ornaments on the tower and beneath the eaves of the sacred edifice. This sacrilegious deed caused a general insurrection. Herberstorf was defeated at Peurbach, where he lost twelve hundred of his men, and was forced to seek shelter within the walls of Linz. Stephen Fadinger, a wealthy peasant, formerly a hatmaker, was placed at the head of the insurgents, who divided themselves into regiments, some of which wore a black uniform in sign of sorrow for their country, fixed upon certain places of meeting, and maintained the most perfect order, without having a single member of the ancient Estates either at their head or among their ranks. A collision took place at Hausruckviertel between the scattered soldiery and the peasantry, which terminated in a general assassination of the Bavarians.

The Estates were now convoked for the purpose of mediating between the emperor and "his trusty peasantry," to whose complaints he promised to turn a "lenient ear," while he made fresh military preparations, the presence of his troops being at that time required in other parts of the empire. The peasants, meantime, continued to arm themselves, and seized three vessels bearing Bavarian troops up the Danube to the relief of Linz. No quarter was given. Fadinger, on his part, took advantage of the truce to gather in the harvest and to provide for the future wants of his followers. The alternative offered by him to the emperor was, "liberty of conscience or renunciation of allegiance to the house of Habsburg."

The attempt to compel Linz, Enns, and Freistadt to capitulate by famine failing, Fadinger formally besieged them

in the summer of 1626, when he was killed by a cannon-ball while reconnoitring the fortifications of Linz. The attacks of the enraged peasantry proved futile. Wiellinger, their new leader, was unpossessed of the talent of his gifted predecessor.

Another body of insurgents under Wolf Wurm had, meanwhile, gained possession of Freistadt, and Enns had been relieved by a troop of imperialists under Colonel Lœbel, whose soldiery set the villages in flames and butchered their inhabitants. Wiellinger, instead of opposing them with his formidable numbers, foolishly marched the main body of his forces upon Linz, where he met with insurmountable difficulties and a determined resistance. His attempts to take the place by storm were signally defeated. A thousand of the peasants were killed and numbers wounded. A night-attack by water also failed, and a ship, crowded with peasants, was blown into the air. Fresh regiments of imperialists and Bavarians, meanwhile, poured into the country. Lœbel was supported by the Colonels von Auersperg, Preuner, and Schafftenberg. Preuner took Freistadt by a coup de main and defeated a body of peasantry at Kerschbaum. Wiellinger, compelled to raise the siege of Linz, during which he had lost all his ammunition and his army had been reduced to two thousand men, when too late, attacked Lœbel, and a dreadful battle took place at Neuhofen, where one thousand of the peasants fell and Wiellinger was severely wounded. He was replaced by a fresh leader, "the Student," whose real name was never known, although he was the greatest character that appeared in this tragedy. The peasants, inspired by him with fresh courage, undauntedly opposed the troops now pouring upon them from every quarter. Adolf, duke of Holstein, the emperor's ally, was surprised by the Student during the night near Wesenufer; a thousand of his men were slain, and he was constrained to flee in his shirt to Bavaria. General Lindlo, who was sent by Maximilian to avenge this disgrace, fell into an ambuscade laid by the Student in the great Pram forest. Lindlo contrived to escape, but almost the whole of his officers and three thousand of his men were cut to pieces.

Another body of peasantry defeated Lœbel on the Welserheath. Preuner was, however, victorious in the Muhlviertel and at Lambach. The Student divided his men into three bodies and took up a strong position at Weibern, Eferding, and Gmunden, at which latter place rocks and stones were rolled upon Herberstorf's troops, which were put to flight, leaving one thousand five hundred men on the field.

The celebrated general, Henry Godfrey von Pappenheim, whose fame as a distinguished commander of the League was only second to that of Tilly, was now despatched into the mountains at the head of fresh troops against the invincible Student, whom he attacked in his second position at Eferding, and at length, after a hard and dubious contest, in which two thousand of the peasantry were slain, defeated. He then marched upon Gmunden, whence he succeeded in dislodging the enemy, who instantly took up a strong position in a wood. The whole of the imperial forces stood here opposed to the little body of peasantry, and in such close vicinity that the psalms sung by them and a sermon delivered by the Student, in which he exhorted them to be of good courage, were plainly heard by the foe. The charge made by the peasantry upon the flank of the imperialists was at first successful, the whole of the right wing taking to flight and being pursued as far as the streets of Gmunden, notwithstanding which, after a murderous battle of four hours, Pappenheim kept the field and four thousand peasants were slain. This defeat was followed by the battles of Vœcklabruck and Wolfsegg, in which several thousands of the peasantry fell, among others the unknown Student, whose head was presented to the general. An enormous mound that was raised over the fallen brave near Pisdorf, and which is still known as the Peasant Mound, is the only record that remains of those bloody times.

The country was placed under martial law. A number of captive peasants were dragged to Vienna, whence they never returned. Many thousands had fallen. The remainder were converted to Catholicism by the military and by the

Jesuits. The remains of Fadinger and Zeller were, at the emperor's command, exhumed and burned by the hangman. Wiellinger and twelve of the other ringleaders were executed; numbers of the peasants were butchered by the soldiery, and, in conclusion, the emperor, unable to deny himself the pleasure, ordered Madlfeder, Hausleitner, and Holzmuller, the poor peasant commissioners, who had formerly entered into negotiation with him and the Estates and who had received a safe-conduct signed with his royal hand, to be seized, quartered alive, and their limbs exposed on gallows on the highroads in different parts of the country.

The obstinacy with which the people, notwithstanding the success of the League and the treachery of the princes, asserted their liberty of conscience, had, by the great concourse of soldiery beneath their banners, enabled some of the minor nobility, among others, Count Mansfeld, to keep the field. This diminutive, sickly-looking, deformed man, possessed a hero's soul. The Protestants flocked in such crowds beneath his standard, that, in the autumn of 1621, he found himself in Alsace at the head of twenty thousand men; but, deserted by all the powerful princes, who alone possessed the means of supporting an army, he was compelled by necessity to maintain his troops by pillage, an example that was imitated by all the leaders during this terrible war. In the ensuing spring, seconded by some of the minor princes, who had ventured to join him during the winter, he took the field against Tilly. George Frederick, Margrave of Baden-Durlach, had taken up arms against the emperor on account of the protection afforded by him to his cousin William of Baden-Baden, whom he sought, under pretext of the illegitimacy of his birth, to deprive of his inheritance. Christian of Brunswick, the youngest brother of Frederick Ulric of Wolfenbuttel, another of his allies, was an adventurer, who, having become enamored of Elisabeth, ex-queen of Bohemia, wore her glove in his hat, and fought for "God and his lady." He entered Westphalia and plundered the wealthy churches and monasteries. Numbers of

KING WILLIAM I.

Germany, Frontispiece.

the towns escaped pillage on payment of ransom; he lost, however, one thousand two hundred men before the little town of Geseke.—Mansfeld was also joined by John Ernest, Frederick and William of Saxe-Weimar, who were filled with indignation at the guardianship attempted to be imposed upon them by the treacherous elector of Saxony. Their youngest brother, Bernard, served, in his eighteenth year, in his brother William's regiment. Magnus of Wurtemberg also took up arms in Mansfeld's favor, against the wish of his brother, John Frederick, the reigning duke.—Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, also showed great zeal in the cause, but was not supported by his provincial Estates, the prelates and the nobility, who entered into a separate negotiation with the Spaniards, between whom and the nobility a treaty was concluded at Bingen, A.D. 1621, in the name of the Landgrave, who angrily protested against it. He was unable, owing to the defection of the Estates, to bring a sufficient number of troops into the field.

The ex-king of Bohemia ventured in person into the camp of Mansfeld, who, united with the Margrave of Baden, defeated Tilly, who was murdering and burning in the Pfalz, near Wisloch or Mingelsheim; but the Margrave, separating from him, was attacked at Wimpfen by Tilly, who, meanwhile, had been joined by Cordova, and was completely routed. His flight was covered by four hundred of the citizens of Pforzheim, under their burgomaster, Deimling, who were cut down to a man. Magnus of Wurtemberg fell, covered with glory. Bernard of Weimar greatly distinguished himself in this action. Mansfeld had, in the meantime, taken prisoner Louis, Landgrave of Darmstadt, who had refused him a free passage across his territory. Christian of Brunswick, when attempting to join Mansfeld, was surprised and defeated at Hœchst on the Maine, where a terrible slaughter took place, Christian having rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the Catholics. Mansfeld's operations were rendered less effective by the unexpected desertion of the ex-king of Bohemia, who, at the instigation of Saxony,

implored the emperor's pardon and dismissed his troops. Mansfeld, without money or credit, had now but one alternative, and threw himself, with Christian, into Champagne, for the purpose of inspiring Louis XIII., who had begun to persecute the Huguenots, with alarm, and of providing himself with the means of subsistence, and marched thence into the Netherlands with the intention of attacking Spinola, who had forced the Dutch to retreat upon the Rhine, taken Juliers, and was besieging Bergen-op-Zoom. Although pursued by Cordova, they fought their way in the Ardennes through the insurgent peasantry, gained a brilliant victory over the united forces of Cordova and Spinola at Fleurus, and raised the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. Frederick of Weimar, who had ventured to join the evangelical fugitives, fell in this battle, and Christian was severely wounded. The winter was passed in East Friesland, where the maintenance of the troops fell heavily on the unremunerated peasantry. Mansfeld visited London, where he was received with great acclamations, in the hope of gaining assistance from England. He was wrecked during his return, and saved by the fidelity of his friends and attendants, sixty-six in number, who ceded to him the only chance of escape, a frail boat, which bore him safely to hand, while they calmly resigned themselves to a watery grave.

Mansfeld's retreat left the Upper Rhine a prey to Tilly's vengeance. Heidelberg was stormed by his savage soldiery, by whom the wretched inhabitants were treated with horrid cruelty. The valuable library was sent by Maximilian, whose possession of Upper Austria began to excite the displeasure of Ferdinand, to the pope, Gregory XV., as a means of retaining that pontiff's favor. The precious ancient German manuscripts, contained in this library, reached Rome in safety, and were thus saved from sharing the destruction that, during later wars, awaited the castle of Heidelberg, where they had been kept, which fell a prey to the flames. They were sent back to Heidelberg in 1815. Mannheim was taken by storm and burned to the ground. Frankenthal

capitulated. The inhabitants of Germersheim, although the troops of the Pfalz had evacuated the place, were butchered by the imperialists. Catholicism was reimposed upon the whole of the Pfalz. Nor did the opposite side of the Rhine escape. Strasburg mainly owed the preservation of her liberty of conscience to the strength of her walls, but the greater part of the inhabitants of Hagenau and Colmar (Protestants) were compelled to emigrate.

Ferdinand, with the view of realizing the projects, the execution of which he had commenced by force, by means of negotiation, and the promulgation of new laws, convoked the electoral princes, A.D. 1623, to Ratisbon. This was no longer a diet, but an aristocratic assembly, whence the other Estates of the empire were, during this reign of terror, arbitrarily excluded by the emperor, who hoped to succeed in his schemes by the sole aid of the princes. His first object was the conclusion of a treaty with Bavaria, whom he hoped to supersede as the head of the Catholic party, and on whom, being compelled to reward him for his services, he bestowed the Upper Pfalz in fee and the electoral dignity, but, jealous of his power and influence, retained Rhenish Pfalz under pretext of the offence a grant of that country would give to Frederick's father-in-law, the English monarch. In order to attach the minor princes to his person, and by their means to create a counterpoise to Bavaria, he bestowed at this diet the title of prince on the Counts von Hohenzollern and great privileges on the Counts von Furstenberg. Rhenish Pfalz merely lost the wealthy monastery of Lorsch, which was ceded to Mayence. Maximilian, forced to content himself with the Upper Pfalz, of which he took possession to the great dissatisfaction of the inhabitants, immediately abolished the ancient constitution and banished all the Protestant inhabitants. Thus ended the first act in the thirty years' tragedy, the Calvinistic and Hussite movement in Upper Germany, which the Lutherans in Lower Germany, instead of favoring, had aided the Catholics to oppose.

Peace was, nevertheless, still out of the question. All

the bulwarks of the Reformation in the South had been destroyed. The North, that fondly deemed herself secure, was next to be attacked. The cruel fanaticism of the emperor and the perfidy of Saxony had weakened every guarantee. The dread of the general and forcible suppression of Protestantism throughout Germany, and shame for their inaction, induced the circle of Lower Saxony to take up arms and to seek aid from their Protestant brethren in England, Denmark, and Sweden. Richelieu was at this time at the head of affairs in France, and, although as a cardinal a zealous upholder of Catholicism, he was not blind to the opportunity offered, by supporting the German Protestants against the emperor, for weakening the power of that potentate, partitioning Germany, and extending the French territory toward the Rhine. The German Lutherans, ensnared by his intrigues, blinded by fear, and driven to this false step by the despotism and perfidy of the emperor, little foresaw the immeasurable misfortune foreign interference was to bring upon their country. Bellin, the French plenipotentiary, at first wished to place the warlike Swedish monarch, Gustavus Adolphus, at the head of the German Protestants, entered into alliance with England, and gained over the elector of Brandenburg, who promised his sister, Catherine, to the Russian czar, in order to keep a check upon Poland, at that period at war with Sweden; but these intrigues were frustrated by Christian IV., king of Denmark, who anticipated the Swedes by taking up arms and placing himself at the head of the movement. Gustavus, at that time engaged with Poland, was unable to interfere. The Russian match was broken off, A.D. 1625, and the luckless bride was given in marriage to the aged Bethlen Gabor.

CCVI. *Wallenstein—The Danish Campaign*

War with Denmark no sooner threatened than Ferdinand, to the great discontent of Bavaria, raised an army, independent of the League, by the assistance of a Bohemian

nobleman, Albert von Wallenstein (properly, Waldstein). This nobleman belonged to a Protestant family, and had been bred in that faith. He had acquired but a scanty supply of learning at the university of Goldberg in Silesia, which he quitted to enter as a page the Catholic court of Burgau. While here he fell, when asleep, out of one of the high castle windows without receiving any injury. He afterward studied the dark sciences, more especially astrology, in Italy, and read his future destiny, of which he had had a secret presentiment from his early childhood, in the stars. He commenced his career in the emperor's service, by opposing the Turks in Hungary, where he narrowly escaped death from swallowing a love-potion administered to him by Wiczkowa, an aged but extremely wealthy widow, whom he had married, and with whose money he raised a regiment of cuirassiers for the emperor. His popularity was so great in Bohemia that the Bohemians, on the breaking out of the disturbances in Prague, appointed him their general. He, nevertheless, remained attached to the imperial service and greatly distinguished himself in the field against Mansfeld and Bethlen Gabor. By a second and equally rich marriage with the Countess Harrach, and by the favor of the emperor, who bestowed upon him Friedland and the dignity of count of the empire, but chiefly by the purchase of numberless estates, which, on account of the numerous confiscations and emigrations, were sold in Bohemia at merely a nominal price, and by the adulteration of coin,[1] Wallenstein became possessed of such enormous wealth as to be, next to the emperor, the richest proprietor in the empire. The emperor requesting him to raise a body of ten thousand men, he levied forty thousand, an army of that magnitude being solely able to provide itself in every quarter with subsistence, and was, in return, created duke of Friedland and generalis-

[1] He purchased property to the amount of 7,290,000 florins, a fifth of its real value, and the coin with which he paid for it was, moreover, so bad that the emperor was compelled to secure him against enforced restitution by an express privilege.

simo of the imperial forces. A few months sufficed for the levy of the troops, his fame and the principles on which he acted attracting crowds beneath his standard. Every religion, but no priest, was tolerated within his camp; the strictest discipline was enforced and the greatest license permitted; merit met with a princely reward; the commonest soldier, who distinguished himself, was promoted to the highest posts; and around the person of the commander was spread the charm of mystery; he was reported to be in league with the powers of darkness, to be invulnerable, and to have enchained victory to his banner. Fortune was his deity and the motto of his troops. In person he was tall and thin; his countenance was sallow and lowering; his eyes were small and piercing, his forehead was high and commanding, his hair short and bristling. He was surrounded with mystery and silence.[1]

Tilly, jealous of Wallenstein's fame, hastened to anticipate that leader in the reduction of the circle of Lower Saxony. The Danish monarch, who held Schleswig and Holstein by right of inheritance, and Ditmarsch by that of conquest, while his son, Frederick, governed the bishoprics of Bremen and Verdun, attempted to encroach still further on the German empire and long carried on a contest with Lubeck and Hamburg. During peace time, in 1619, he seized the free town of Stade, under the pretext, customary in those times, of protecting the aristocratic council against the rebellious citizens. He also built Glückstadt, and levied high customs on the citizens of Hamburg. The avarice and servility of the princes of Wolfenbüttel and Luneburg-Zelle had also at that period rendered them contemptible and deprived them of much of their former power and influence. Christian the Wild, of Brunswick, was appointed generalis-

[1] Two portraits of this singular man are to be seen at Dux near Tœplitz, one of the country residences of the present counts of Waldstein. One represents him as a fair youth, whose smooth and open brow is still unsullied by crime; the other bears the dark and sinister aspect of a man whose hands have been imbrued in blood, whose seared conscience hesitates at no means, however base, cruel or unholy, for the attainment of his purpose.—*Trans.*

simo of the circle of Lower Saxony, but was no sooner opposed by Tilly than his brother, George Frederick Ulric of Wolfenbuttel, and the Danish king, withdrew their troops and dissolved the confederacy. Christian, nevertheless, still kept the field with those of his allies who remained faithful to him, among others, William and Bernard of Weimar, and a bloody engagement took place at Stadtloo, in which Tilly was victorious and William of Weimar was wounded and taken prisoner. He returned to East Friesland to Mansfeld. The noble Danish body-guard that had been sent to Wolfenbuttel was attacked and driven across the frontier by the enraged German peasantry, and the Hanse towns, flattered by the emperor and embittered against Denmark by the erection of Gluckstadt and the seizure of Stade, were almost the first to recall their troops and to desist from opposition, while George of Luneburg, attracted by the report of the great arrondissements projected by the emperor, preferred gain to loss and formally seceded.

The Danish monarch now found himself totally unprotected, and, in order to guard his German acquisitions in case Brunswick followed the example of the Hansa and embraced the imperial party, set himself up as a liberator of Germany, in which he was countenanced and upheld by England, Holland, and Richelieu, the omnipotent minister of France. He, nevertheless, greatly undervalued the simultaneous revolt of the Upper Austrians, to whom he impolitically offered no assistance. The German princes remained tranquil and left the Dane unaided. The Hessian peasantry rose in Tilly's rear, and those of Brunswick, enraged at the cowardly desertion of the cause of religion by the princes and the nobility, killed numbers of his soldiery in the Sollinger Forest, captured the garrisons of Dassel and Bodenwerder, seized a large convoy near Eimbeck, destroyed the castles of all the fugitive nobility, and hunted George's consort, the daughter of the treacherous Louis of Darmstadt, from one place of refuge to another. The citizens of Hanover, where the magistrate was about to capitulate to Tilly,

also flew to arms and appointed John Ernest of Weimar commandant of their city, A.D. 1625.

Tilly, at first worsted at Niemburg by the Danish general, Obentraut, who fell shortly afterward at Seelze, spread the terror of his name throughout Hesse, Brunswick, and the rest of the Lutheran provinces. The Spaniards in the Netherlands, encouraged by this example, again resorted to their ancient practices, and, during the winter of 1626, Henry Count von Berg, made an inroad, still unforgotten by the Dutch, into the Velau, where he burned down the villages, butchered all the men, and left the women and children naked and houseless, exposed to the inclemency of the season.

In the ensuing year, the approach of Wallenstein caused Tilly, anxious to bind the laurels of victory around his own brow, to bring the Danish campaign to a hasty close, and, taking advantage of the state of inactivity to which the Danish monarch was reduced by a fall from horseback, seized Hameln and Minden, where the powder magazine blew up during the attack and destroyed the whole garrison, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, A.D. 1627. Havelberg, Göttingen, and Hanover next fell into his hands, and a pitched battle was fought on the Barenberg near Lutter, which terminated in the rout of the whole of the Danish forces and the surrender of Holstein.

Mansfeld and John Ernest of Weimar, too weak, notwithstanding the reinforcements sent to their aid by England and Holland, to take the field against Wallenstein, who, at the head of a wild and undisciplined army of sixty thousand men, was advancing upon Lower Germany, attempted to draw him through Silesia into Hungary and to carry the war into the hereditary provinces of the emperor, but were overtaken and defeated on the bridge of Dessau. Mansfeld, nevertheless, escaped into Silesia, where his popularity was so great that in the course of a few weeks he found himself once more at the head of an army consisting of twenty thousand evangelical volunteers, four thousand

Mecklenburgers, and three thousand Scots and Danes. Wallenstein pursued him, and the contending armies lay for some time in sight of each other on the Waag, without venturing an engagement. Wallenstein, meanwhile, gained over the Hungarian king, and Mansfeld, once more abandoned, attempted to escape to Venice, but, worn out by chagrin and fatigue, expired, standing upright in his armor, at Uracowicz, in Bosnia. He was buried at Spalatro. His ally, John Ernest of Weimar, died in Hungary. A body of his troops under Colonel Baudis fought their way, although opposed even by Brandenburg, to Denmark. Bethlen Gabor expired, A.D. 1629, leaving no issue.

The triumph of the Catholics was complete. As early as 1625, a jubilee had been solemnized and public prayers for the extirpation of the heretics had been ordained throughout the whole of the Catholic world by the pope, Urban VIII., who also founded the celebrated Propaganda, *congregatio de propaganda fide*, whose members were instructed in the task, whenever violence failed, of alluring apostates, more especially the princes, back to the bosom of the one true church.

The Protestant cause was lost. The more powerful and influential among the princes of the Lutheran Union had turned traitors; the lesser potentates had, after a futile contest, been compelled to yield. Christian of Brunswick expired at Wolfenbuttel. The Margrave of Baden had fled into Denmark. Maurice of Hesse was finally reduced to submission by Tilly, and died, A.D. 1632, after abdicating in favor of his son, William, who, not bound, like his father, by an oath to maintain tranquillity, was free to seize any opportunity that offered during the war for his restoration to power. The Hessian nobility, supported by Tilly, had acquired great privileges by the stipulations of the peace concluded between that general and Maurice, of which they made use to raise a tumult against their sturdy opponent, Wolfgang Gunther, the Landgrave's privy councillor, whom they sentenced to execution.

The opposition offered by the people had also been stifled in blood. The peasants in Upper Austria and Brunswick had fallen a prey to the soldiery, and an insurrection of the Bohemian peasantry, under Christopher von Redern, who had taken Kœnigsgrætz by storm and laid waste the property of Wallenstein's brother-in-law, Terzki, was speedily quelled; five hundred were slain, the rest branded and deprived of their noses.

Wallenstein became the soul of the intrigues carried on in the camps and in the little courts of Northern Germany, and had not the Catholics, like the Protestants at an earlier period, been blinded by petty jealousies, Europe would have been molded by his quick and comprehensive genius into another form. He demanded a thorough reaction, an unconditional restoration of the ancient imperial power, a monarchy absolute as that of France and Spain. In order to carry out his project for securing the submission of the southern provinces of Germany to the imperial rule by the firm and peaceable possession of those in the north, the seat of opposition, he invaded Holstein, defeated the Margrave of Baden near Aalborg, and made Christian IV. tremble in Copenhagen. Tilly, meanwhile, garrisoned the coasts of the Baltic and seized Stade, while Arnheim, with the Saxon troops sent by the elector to Wallenstein's aid, held the island of Rugen. Rostock fell into the hands of Wallenstein, John Albert and Adolf Frederick of Mecklenburg were driven out of the country, Stralsund was besieged, and the people were laid under heavy contributions. Wallenstein had already come to an understanding with Poland, and the Hanse towns were drawn into his interests by a promise of the annihilation of the Dutch, of the traffic of the whole world being diverted from Amsterdam to Hamburg,[1] and of the monopoly of the whole of the commerce of Spain. The emperor, in order to counterpoise the power of the ancient princely families which threatened to contravene the schemes laid for his aggrandize-

[1] These promises were indeed vain; the last Hanseatic diet was held, A.D. 1630. The Hansa had fallen never again to rise.

ment by his favorite, bestowed upon him the principality of Sagan, in Silesia, and the whole of Mecklenburg, while he in his turn proposed to gain the crown of Denmark for his master, to create Tilly duke of Brunswick-Calenberg and Pappenheim duke of Wolfenbuttel, and, in order to evade George's pretensions, that prince was sent to Italy under pretence of securing the succession of the petty duchy of Mantua for the emperor.

Wallenstein's projects were, nevertheless, frustrated by his own party. The emperor objected to the Danish crown as too precarious a possession, while Tilly, a zealous Catholic and Jesuit, the slave of his order, by which the schemes of the duke of Friedland were viewed with suspicion, and which solely aimed at the suppression of the Reformation, not that of the princely aristocracy, which it hoped to restore to the Catholic Church, gave him but lukewarm aid, and his attempts upon Stralsund were, consequently, unsuccessful, and, after losing twelve thousand men, he was compelled to raise the siege.

The Danes were, meanwhile, forced by the treaty of Lubeck, A.D. 1629, to abandon the Protestant cause. Denmark, actuated by jealousy of Sweden, consented to all the terms proposed, and a marriage between Ulric, the crown prince of Denmark, and Wallenstein's only daughter, was even agitated. Arnheim was sent to aid Poland against Sweden. England, whose king, James I., had been won over by the Jesuits, also abandoned the Protestant cause.

The heroic defence of Stralsund decided the fate of Europe. Wallenstein's pride received a deep blow. The emperor, already doubtful of his fidelity, now lost his belief in his unvarying good fortune and threw himself into the arms of the Jesuits, who chiefly dreaded a schism among the Catholics. Maximilian of Bavaria, jealous of the supremacy of Austria, had already entered into negotiation with Richelieu and even with the Lutheran princes, and threatened to take the field against the emperor, were Wallenstein further permitted to exercise arbitrary rule throughout the

empire and to treat the dignities and privileges of the princes with contempt. Richelieu also dreaded the unity of Germany, and offered to invade the empire in order to curb Wallenstein, whose genius he dreaded, by force.

The emperor, undeterred by repeated warnings, abandoned his great general, and published, A.D. 1629, in the spirit of the League, the infamous edict, enforcing the restitution of all ecclesiastical property confiscated since the treaty of Passau. By this edict the Protestant archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, Lubeck, Ratzeburg, Merseburg, Misnia, Naumburg, Brandenburg, Havelberg, Lebus, Cammin, and numberless monastic lands, were restored to the Catholics. The imperial commissioners intrusted with the execution of the edict, protected by the Friedlanders and Leaguers, exercised the greatest tyranny, enforcing the restoration of lands confiscated prior to the term fixed and the recantation of their proprietors. The Catholic ritual was re-established in all the free imperial cities, even in those where, as, for instance, in Augsburg, it had been abolished and replaced by that of Luther long before the treaty of Passau. The emperor appropriated the greater part of the booty to his own family, and encouraged plurality by appointing his son, Leopold, archbishop, and bishop of Bremen, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Passau, Strasburg, and abbot of Hersfeld, which placed all those rich ecclesiastical demesnes in his hands, and thus, while seemingly defending religion against the political egotism of the Protestant princes, emulated them in stripping the church. The whole of the confiscated monastic property, without distinction, fell to the Jesuits.

Lay property shared a similar fate. Every nobleman who had served under Frederick of Bohemia, Mansfeld, or Brunswick, was deprived of his estates, and the emperor's and the Leaguers' troops, under pretext of protecting the commissioners in the performance of their duty, were stationed in and allowed to pillage the Protestant provinces. The Catholics, nevertheless, generally viewed their success with dis-

trust, and it was remarked that, in Wurtemberg, the monasteries, instead of being taken into possession, were merely plundered, that the booty was carried into Bavaria and Austria, that even the forests were cleared and the timber sold. John Frederick, duke of Wurtemberg, had expired, A.D. 1628, leaving his infant son, Eberhard III., under the guardianship of his uncle, Louis Frederick, who died shortly afterward of chagrin at the devastation of his territories.

The cruelty and tyranny practiced by the emperor remained wholly unopposed by the Protestant princes. The city of Magdeburg alone maintained her ancient fame by defending her walls against the whole of the imperial forces. The free imperial cities had been delivered up to the emperor and were purposely unrepresented in the council of princes, which usurped the prerogatives of a diet of the empire, held at Ratisbon, A.D. 1630. The restoration of the ecclesiastical property sorely displeased the Lutheran princes. Saxony and Brandenburg beheld with pain the archbishoprics and bishoprics in the north torn from their families and bestowed upon the Archduke Leopold, Hildesheim on Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria, elector of Cologne, Minden and Verdun on Francis William, Count von Wurtemberg (a side-branch of the Bavarian dynasty), who, as commissioner for the whole of Northern Germany, superintended the execution of the edict. But their dread of Wallenstein smoothed every difficulty. The elector of Saxony and all the Lutheran princes, bribed with Wallenstein's dismissal, gave their consent to the edict and tolerated its transgression in the free imperial cities. The complaints against his administration were studiously brought forward, as if to veil the robberies committed under the edict. The duke of Friedland was made the scapegoat for the crimes of others. The man to whom the emperor owed all he possessed was dismissed, A.D. 1630. Nor was this the least important triumph of the princely aristocracy over all the contending parties in Germany in the course of this century. The hope of restoring the unity of the empire was once more frustrated and the ancient polyarchy saved.

Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, landed at this conjuncture on the coast of Pomerania. His arrival was viewed with pleasure by the cabinet of Vienna, as a means of humbling Bavaria and the League, and, in case of necessity, Wallenstein would still be able to raise the Austrian standard when Bavaria and Sweden should have mutually weakened one another. Wallenstein's offer to defend the coasts in his right as Prince of Mecklenburg was rejected, and he withdrew, with the wealth he had amassed, to Prague.

A groundless fear of opposition on the part of Wallenstein had induced the emperor to draw off twenty thousand of his men, and to send them into Italy in order to secure to the imperial house the succession to the duchy of Mantua, to which Charles, duke of Nevers, a French prince, laid claim. France eagerly seized this opportunity to take a footing in Italy. The pope, Urban VIII., a worldly-minded, warlike, intriguing prince, and Venice, alarmed at the emperor's successes in Germany, and dreading anew the supremacy of Austria in Italy, leagued with France and countenanced the invasion of Northern Germany by Sweden. The concessions made by the emperor to Bavaria probably arose from a dread of Maximilian's open accession to this dangerous confederacy. Ferdinand, meanwhile, enraged at the defiance of his power by the Italians, levied a numerous body of troops for the relief of Spinola, who with difficulty kept his ground in Upper Italy, and, after gallantly defending Casale, died of chagrin, caused by the ingratitude with which he was treated by the Spanish court. The imperialists were victorious, took Mantua, which was strongly fortified, by storm, and committed the most horrid outrages in the city and its vicinity. The duchy was, nevertheless, ceded to Nevers for the purpose of conciliating France and of securing the allegiance of Bavaria, which threatened to side with France unless Mantua was sacrificed. The accession of Savoy to his party, through dread of the supremacy of France, little availed the emperor, that duke being compelled to cede to France some of the most important pas-

sages into Italy, Piquerol, Riva, and Perouse. In this war, six thousand Swiss fought under French colors. It also appears that the Catholic generals at that period in Italy, Gallas, Altringer, Colalto, Egon von Furstenberg, entered into the Jesuitical conspiracy and were ever false friends to Wallenstein. George von Luneburg, who had been sent to Italy, and had there become acquainted with the treacherous projects cherished by the pope and the Jesuits and the checkered fate of his inheritance, repented of his treason, sought a pretext for his return, and fled to the Swede.

The cowardly Lutheran princes, before the dissolution of the council of princes at Ratisbon, deemed themselves called upon to make some demonstration in favor of their oppressed religion, and——protested against the improved Gregorian calendar, for which they evinced far deeper horror than for the edict of restitution.

CCVII. *Gustavus Adolphus*

From Holland to the mountains of Carniola, from Prussia to the Bernese Alps, wherever German was spoken, had the tenets of Luther and Calvin spread and found a harbor in the hearts of the people. Bavaria and the Tyrol excepted, every province throughout Germany had battled for liberty of conscience, and yet the whole of Germany, notwithstanding her universal inclination for the Reformation, had been deceived in her hopes, a second imperial edict seemed likely to crush the few remaining privileges spared by the edict of restitution, and Magdeburg alone, with unflinching perseverance, ventured to oppose the imperial commands.

Gustavus Adolphus, one of the most zealous and conscientious of the advocates of the Reformation, reigned at that time in Sweden. His father, Charles, a younger brother of King John, of the house of Wasa, had been placed on the throne by the Protestant Swedes instead of the actual heir, Sigismund, king of Poland, who had embraced Catholicism. The attempt made by Maurice of Hesse, in 1615, to place

Gustavus, then a youth, at the head of the Union, had been frustrated by the jealousy of Denmark and the war between Sweden and Poland, which terminated in Sigismund's defeat and the annexation of Livonia to Sweden. Riga fell into the hands of the Swedish monarch, A.D. 1621. Elbing shared the same fate. Dantzig offered a successful resistance. The elector of Brandenburg, Poland's vassal, preserved a strict neutrality. Gustavus, on the defeat of Denmark, no longer hesitated in joining the German Protestants. His flag speedily waved in Stralsund. Arnheim (Arnim), sent by Wallenstein to the aid of Poland, was at first successful, but was afterward defeated at Marienburg by Gustavus, whose army was reinforced by numbers of imperial deserters. The elector of Brandenburg, bribed by the cession of Marienburg and Werder, forgot his jealousy and passed from neutrality to demonstrations of amity. Peace was, by the intervention of France, finally concluded with Poland and Denmark, and Gustavus, urged by his sincere piety, resolved to take up arms in defence of Protestantism and to free Germany from the yoke imposed by the Jesuits. The love of fame and the chance of placing the imperial crown on his own brow were other but secondary inducements. His military genius, developed in the war with Poland, the internal state of Germany, and the excellence of his well-disciplined troops, inured to hardship and fatigue, accustomed to victory, and filled with enthusiasm for their faith and for their king, vouched for his success. In his army were several German refugees of distinction, the gray-headed Count Thurn and his gallant son, who died of fever during this expedition, Otto Louis, Rheingrave of Salm, and the three brave Livonian brothers, Rosen. The cause for which he fought had, it is true, gained for him the hearts of the Protestant population throughout Germany; his arrival was, nevertheless, viewed with greater dissatisfaction by the Protestant princes than by either of the Catholic parties. The League, France, Bavaria, and the pope hoped, by means of the Swede, to reduce the emperor to submission, while the

emperor and Wallenstein on their side secretly aimed at weakening the League by similar means; both sides, consequently, greatly favored Gustavus's chance of success by their hesitation in taking strong measures against him. The greatest obstacles were, on the contrary, thrown in his way by the Protestant princes, whom he came to defend, and who refused to second his efforts. The extension and confirmation of the power of Sweden to the north were, in point of fact, at the sole expense of Brandenburg, of the house of Guelph, and of that of Saxony. The jealousy with which the German princes viewed the entry of a warlike and powerful neighbor on their territory was also natural; their late reconciliation with the emperor, moreover, rendered them peculiarly disinclined to favor the Swedish expedition, by which the flames of war were again to be lighted throughout unhappy Germany, where every province, ancient Bavaria and the Tyrol alone excepted, had been ravaged by fire, sword, and pillage during the religious war. A dreadful famine, caused by the Mansfeld expedition, by the rapine of Wallenstein's soldiery, and by the pillage carried on by the Jesuits, raged in Silesia; the citizens and peasantry died by thousands of starvation, and many instances occurred of parents devouring their children, and of brethren destroying one another for the last mouthful of bread. This misery, fearful as it was, was, however, a mere prelude to the horrors that ensued. The arrival of the Swedish king was but the opening of the war.

Gustavus Adolphus cast anchor on June 24, 1630, the anniversary of the Confession of Augsburg, near to the little island of Ruden, and landed, during a violent thunderstorm, at Usedom. His army consisted of sixteen thousand men, comprising forty German companies, under Colonels Falkenberg, Diedrich, Holl, Kniphausen, and Mitchefahl. His first object was to take firm footing in Pomerania and Mecklenburg. Bozislaw, duke of Pomerania, was, accordingly, compelled to join his cause, and the imperial garrisons were driven out of the minor towns during the winter of 1631.

Torquato Conti, the imperial stadtholder in Pomerania, unable to keep his ground, laid the whole country waste during his retreat. Tilly evinced no anxiety to oppose the advance of the Swedes, but Pappenheim, unable to restrain his impatience, attacked Charles, duke of Lauenburg, who had ventured, in the service of the Swedes, as far as Ratzeburg, and carried him off prisoner. New Brandenburg, Demmin, where he took Duke di Savelli captive, Gartz, Wolgast, Anclam, Stargard, Colberg, fell into the hands of the Swedish king. Mecklenburg, and the ancient Hanse towns, Griefswald and Rostock, were still maintained by the imperialists.

The vain negotiations between Bavaria, the pope, and France were at length terminated by the necessity of opposing the Swedes, and Tilly received orders to take the field. New Brandenburg was speedily retaken, but the perfidy with which he, contrary to the terms of capitulation, butchered two thousand of the Swedes, was bitterly avenged on the capture of Frankfort on the Oder by Gustavus, who, as a warning to Tilly to desist from imitating the cruel practices of the Croatians during war, put two thousand of the imperialists to the sword. Numbers of the fugitives were drowned in the Oder, the bridge giving way beneath the crowd.

A treaty was, meanwhile, concluded at Bærwald between Gustavus and the French monarch, who promised to pay him annually the sum of four hundred thousand dollars and to grant him his aid, now rendered requisite owing to the lukewarmness of the Lutheran princes; and Gustavus, deeply disgusted at their conduct, was alone withheld from abandoning his purpose, from returning to Sweden and coming to terms with the emperor, by the consciousness that to him alone did Magdeburg and the people throughout Germany look for succor. The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony brought about a council of princes at Leipzig, in which they sought to persuade the princes of Northern Germany, Lutherans and Calvinists, who, on this occasion, offered an example of rare unity, to maintain a system of armed neu-

trality and to await the course of events, in order to turn them to their own advantage. The emperor, who, meanwhile, pursued a similar policy, made every effort to gain over the neutral princes, more particularly Saxony, who, in return, insolently renewed his ancient complaints. The urgent entreaties of Gustavus Adolphus for aid from Saxony before Magdeburg fell were equally futile; the elector shared the hatred cherished by the rest of the princes against the free towns and gloried in their destruction. The citizens of Magdeburg, meanwhile, performed prodigies of valor. Although twice besieged since 1629 by Altringer and by Pappenheim, they repulsed, unaided, every attack. As early as 1621, the citizens had given themselves a more liberal constitution, and it was not until they were threatened with destruction that an imperial party created a schism among them. Falkenberg was sent by Gustavus to take the command of the city, which he entered after passing through the enemy's camp disguised as a skipper. The princes of Hesse and Weimar were alone withheld from aiding the city by their inability to cope with Tilly, who, at the head of an immense body of troops, closely blockaded the walls, and, notwithstanding the desperate defence made by the citizens, gradually took all the outworks. During the night of May 20, 1631, while Falkenberg was engaged in the council-house opposing the imperial party among the citizens, who loudly insisted upon capitulating, Pappenheim, unknown to Tilly, mounted an unguarded part of the walls, and, being speedily followed by the rest of the imperial troops, poured suddenly through the streets. Falkenberg instantly rushed to the rencounter and was shot. The citizens, although without a leader or a plan of defence, fought from street to street with all the energy of despair, until overwhelmed by numbers. The soldiery, maddened by opposition, spared neither age nor sex. Some of the officers, who entreated Tilly to put a stop to the massacre, were told to return to him on the expiration of an hour. The most horrid scenes were meanwhile enacted. Every man in the city was killed, numbers

of women cast themselves headlong into the Elbe and into the flames of the burning houses in order to escape the brutality of the soldiery; fifty-three women were beheaded by the Croatians while kneeling in the church of St. Catherine. One Croat boasted of having stuck twenty babes on his pike. One hundred and thirty-seven houses and the fireproof cathedral, in which four thousand men took refuge, were all that remained of the proud city. The rest of the inhabitants had fallen victims to the sword or to the flames. The slaughter continued until the 22d, when Tilly appeared and restored discipline and order. The refugees in the cathedral were pardoned and for the first time for three days received food. Tilly, a tall, haggard-looking man, dressed in a short slashed green satin jacket, with a long red feather in his high crowned hat, with large bright eyes peering from beneath his deeply furrowed brow, a stiff mustache under his pointed nose, ghastly, hollow-cheeked, and with a seeming affectation of wildness in his whole appearance, sat, mounted on a bony charger, on the ruins of Magdeburg, proudly looking upon the thirty thousand bodies of the brave citizens now stiffening in death, which, at his command, were cast into the Elbe. The river was choked up by the mass near the Neustadt.

The news of this disaster filled Gustavus with rage and sorrow, and, probably reckoning upon aid from the people, panic-struck by the destruction of Magdeburg, in case the princes still maintained their neutrality, he entered Prussia, surrounded Berlin, and, stationing himself sword in hand before the city gates, demanded a definite declaration. The relation in which he stood with the elector, George William, was somewhat extraordinary. This prince had an extremely beautiful sister, named Eleonore, whose hand had, ten years before the present period, been demanded by Wladislaw of Poland and by the Swedish monarch, then the bitterest foes. The elector, who merely held Prussia in fee of Poland, naturally favored the former suitor, but Gustavus, habitually bold and daring, visited Berlin, A.D. 1620, during the elec-

tor's absence, gained the princess's affection, and returned with her as his queen to Stockholm. The Polish king, in revenge, incited the fanatical Lutherans in Prussia against the elector. Jægerndorf, the heritage of Brandenburg, was, on the other hand, bestowed by the emperor on Lichtenstein, but the elector, instead of openly ranging himself on the side of his brother-in-law, allowed himself to be swayed on the one hand by his dread of Poland, while on the other he was identified with the imperial party by the intrigues of his minister, Adam von Schwarzenberg, a tool of the Jesuits, and by those of his favorite, Conrad von Burgsdorf. The female part of the family, encouraged by the presence of Gustavus, now opposed the obnoxious favorites, and the elector, to whom the Swedish monarch offered the alternative of his alliance or the reduction of Berlin to a heap of ashes, was compelled to yield. Berlin, Spandau, and Kustrin were garrisoned by the Swedes.

The cruel persecution was, meanwhile, unavailing totally to repress the courage of the citizen and the peasant. Strasburg followed Magdeburg's glorious example and took up arms in defence of the gospel. Numbers of Swabians, tremblingly countenanced by the regent of Wurtemberg, Julius Frederick, flocked to the aid of their brethren in belief. Egon von Furstenberg was, consequently, recalled from Mantua and despatched by the emperor into Swabia, at the head of fifteen thousand men. Memmingen, Kempten, and the little Protestant settlement of Austrian refugees, Freudenstadt in the Black Forest, fell a prey to the license of his soldiery. Julius Frederick yielded without a blow. Strasburg, nevertheless, proved impregnable, and Furstenberg hastened to join his forces with those of Tilly, at that time hard pushed in the north. The insurgent peasantry of the Harz had greatly harassed him on his passage through the mountains. His invasion of Hesse had been opposed by the Landgrave William. The important fortress of Wesel had been taken by the Dutch. Gustavus had also advanced to the Elbe and intrenched himself near Werben, where

Tilly, venturing an attack, was repulsed with considerable loss. The troops under Furstenberg, Altringer, etc., sent to his aid by the emperor, alone enabled him to make head against the Swede; this aid was, however, coupled with the condition of the pillage of Saxony in order to embitter the wavering elector, John George, against Bavaria and the League, and to compel him to declare himself. Halle, Merseberg, Zeiz, Weissenfels, Naumburg were, accordingly, plundered, and the great plain of Leipzig was laid waste. John George, roused by this proceeding, obeyed the pressure of circumstances and fulfilled the warmest wishes of his Protestant subjects by entering into alliance with Sweden. Arnheim, who had quitted the imperial service, and whose diplomatic talents well suited the intriguing Saxon court, was placed at the head of his troops. Eighteen thousand Saxons coalesced with the Swedish army near Duben on the Heath, and the confederated troops marched upon Leipzig, which had just fallen into Tilly's hands.

The Swedes and imperialists stood opposed to each other for the first time on the broad plains of Leipzig. The Swedes were distinguished by their light (chiefly blue) coats, by the absence of armor, their active movements, and light artillery; the imperialists, by their old-fashioned close-fitting (generally yellow) uniforms, besides armor, such as cuirasses, thigh-pieces, and helmets, their want of order and discipline, their slower movements, and their awkward, heavy artillery. The battle was commenced, contrary to the intention of Tilly, who awaited the arrival of the corps under Altringer and Fugger (Furstenberg had already joined him), by Pappenheim, who, being attacked while reconnoitring, Tilly was compelled to hasten to his aid. Gustavus Adolphus, dressed in a simple gray great-coat, with a green feather in his white hat, rode along the Swedish ranks animating his men to the fight. The Swedes were stationed in the right wing, the Saxons in the left. Tilly's army was drawn up, according to ancient custom, in one long line; that of Gustavus was, on the contrary, separated into small movable

masses, which, marching off to the right and left, charged Tilly's flank. Adolf von Holstein unwarily advancing, was consequently taken between two fires, his whole corps destroyed, and himself mortally wounded. The Pappenheim cuirassiers were seven times repulsed. The Saxons' wing was turned by Tilly, but the Swedes, falling on his flank, captured his artillery, turned it upon him and beat him off the field, September 7, 1631. The imperialists fled in wild confusion to Halberstadt, where Tilly, who had been rescued by Rudolf, duke of Luneburg, and the Walloons, who, since the revolt of the Netherlands, had fought with distinction in the Catholic cause, collected the remnant of his army.

The Saxon peasantry, filled with confidence at Tilly's defeat, rose throughout the country, killed all the fugitives from the imperial army, and flocked in numbers under the Swedish banner. The princes even regained courage, and all the minor aristocracy came in person to offer their aid. The road to Vienna lay open. The annihilation of the imperial power and the ruin of the house of Habsburg appeared inevitable. France, and even the pope, Urban VIII., were, consequently, zealous in their efforts to bring about a reconciliation between Sweden and Bavaria, but Gustavus, aware of the enthusiasm with which he was regarded by the whole of Protestant Germany, too noble to sacrifice the cause of religion to an intriguing pontiff, and the German empire to French rapacity, acted in the spirit of a future, Protestant emperor, and, instead of joining the Catholic and anti-imperial League, unhesitatingly fell upon it, crushed Bavaria, intimidated France, and freed himself on every side before attempting to annihilate the little remaining power of the Habsburg. George von Luneburg was sent into Brunswick to regain that province with troops that were still unlevied. Baudis, General Banner, and William, Landgrave of Hesse, were ordered to support him and to purge the whole of Northern Germany of the Leaguers. Gustavus marched in person through Merseberg, where he cut to pieces two thousand of the imperialists, and Erfurt, where he was received

with open arms, through the Thuringian forest to Bamberg and Wurzburg, the latter of which he took by storm. The garrison and a number of monks were put to death. The intervention of France was a second time refused by the Swedish conqueror, who advanced on the Rhine with the intention of throwing himself between France and Bavaria, of aiding the Dutch, and of liberating the Protestants in Upper Germany. Hanau, Aschaffenburg, Rotenburg opened their gates to him. Frankfort on the Maine was entered in triumph. Mayence was taken. The archbishop, Anselm Casimir, fled. Charles of Lorraine, who still maintained his position on the left bank of the Rhine, and the imperial Colonel Ossa, on the right, were repulsed. Spires, Landau, and numerous other towns opened their gates to the Swedes. The fortresses of Kœnigstein, Mannheim, Kreuznach, Bacharach, and Kirchberg fell into their hands. The whole of the Pfalz was once more freed from the Spanish yoke. The garrison of Heidelberg, under Henry von Metternich, alone held out. The arrival of the Swedes was hailed with open demonstrations of delight along the Neckar and the Rhine. Horn, sent by Gustavus into Swabia, took Mannheim, Oppenheim, Heilbronn, and Mergentheim, and extirpated the bands of robbers, composed of the fugitive troops of Charles of Lorraine. The Pfalzgraf, Christian von Birkenfeld, raised troops for the Swedish army. Frederick, the ex-Pfalzgraf and ex-king of Bohemia, returned, but was not formally reinstated by Gustavus, who hoped by this refusal to spur England into action. The queen of Sweden, Eleonore, also came to Frankfort to share her husband's triumph.[1]

"The old devil" Tilly, as Gustavus wrote to the Pfalzgraf, meanwhile retook the field. Rotenburg on the Tauber and Bamberg once more changed masters, but he was compelled to raise the siege of Wurzburg in order to cover Bavaria against Gustavus, while Pappenheim threw himself

[1] On meeting him, she threw her arms around him, and, holding him fast in her embrace, exclaimed, "Now is Gustavus the Great a prisoner!"

alone into Northern Germany. Donauwœrth fell. The battle of Rain on the Lech, where Tilly and Maximilian had intrenched themselves, proved fatal to the former; a cannon-ball shattered his thigh, and he expired in excruciating agonies, A.D. 1632. His last injunction to Maximilian, at any price to garrison Ratisbon, the key to Bohemia, Austria, and Bavaria, without delay, was instantly obeyed. Horn was already en route thither, but was forestalled by the Bavarian duke, who threw himself with his troops, disguised as Swedes, under cover of the night, into that city.

Gustavus, after restoring liberty of conscience to Augsburg, and receiving the homage of the citizens, entered Munich, which surrendered at discretion, in triumph with the ex-king of Bohemia and Queen Eleonore, at whose side rode a monkey with a shaven crown, in a Capuchin's gown, and with a rosary in his paws. A fine of forty thousand dollars was laid upon the town. One hundred and forty cannons, within which thirty thousand ducats and a quantity of precious stones were concealed, and which had been buried for security, were betrayed into the hands of the conqueror. Maximilian's proposals for peace were scornfully rejected.

CCVIII. *Wallenstein's Second Command—The Battle of Lützen—The Heilbronn Confederacy—Death of Wallenstein*

THE advance of the Swedish king, who, during his Rhenish conquests, had afforded the emperor time to create a most dangerous diversion, now received a check.

In Northern Germany, the imperial garrisons of Rostock and Wismar had capitulated, but Gronsfeld still kept the field, George von Luneburg, unaided by his brother, having with extreme difficulty succeeded in setting an army on foot. William of Hesse also met with little success. The Dutch took Maestricht. Pappenheim appeared in the Netherlands, but a dispute arising between him and the Spanish leaders, he returned to Central Germany, where his presence was

loudly called for. He retook Hildesheim en route.—The arrival of the Swedes had roused the fanaticism of the Catholic population in the South, and a general rising, similar to that of the Lutheran peasantry against the Catholic soldiery in Hesse and the Harz, took place among the Catholic peasantry against the Swedes. In Bavaria, every straggler from the main body was murdered by the country people; in Weissenburg, one thousand men, who capitulated, were butchered. Ossa endeavored to organize a great insurrection of the peasantry in Upper Swabia, but was defeated at Biberach by the Swedes, in Bregenz, by Bernard von Weimar, and the town of Friedstadt, where several Swedes had been murdered by the people, was burned to the ground by General Banner, and all the inhabitants were put to the sword. Horn, on the other hand, laid siege to Constance.

The movement to the rear of the Swedes was, nevertheless, of far less importance than the proceedings of France. Richelieu, after vainly urging Gustavus to spare Bavaria and to direct his whole force against the emperor, had thrown fresh troops into Lorraine and the electorate of Treves, whose prince, Philip Christopher, had voluntarily placed himself beneath his protection, and Gustavus, who was on the point of conquering Bavaria and Austria, was compelled to permit the occupation of Coblentz, Ehrenbreitstein, and Philipsburg, by the French.

Maximilian, whose correspondence with Richelieu had been intercepted by the imperialists and sent to Vienna, now saw himself constrained to cast himself unconditionally into the arms of the emperor. The Upper Austrian peasantry, attracted by the approach of the great northern magnet, once more dreamed of liberty, and six thousand men had already taken up arms in the Hausruckviertel, when the news of the return of the Swedes northward once more crushed their hopes.

The elector of Saxony had gone into Bohemia; Arnheim into Silesia. The imperial forces, in this quarter numerically weak, fell back. Schaumburg was beaten at Steinau

in Silesia. The retreat of the Croatians was traced by rapine and desolation. The elector entered Prague with a number of Bohemian prisoners. Wallenstein had withdrawn to Znaym. On the death of Tilly, the rapid advance of the Swedes and the threatening aspect of Hungary, where a new popular leader, Ragoczy, had arisen, all seemed lost. The intrigues of France, Bavaria, and the pope, compelled the emperor to seek for aid in his own resources, and, notwithstanding the efforts of the Jesuits and of Spain, again to have recourse to Wallenstein, who, the moment of danger passed, was once more to be thrown aside and to be sacrificed to the Jesuitical party. Wallenstein, fully aware of the emperor's design, coldly refused his aid until his demands, justified by "the weakness and disunion of the empire, the duplicity of his friends, the perfidy of the confederates, the anarchy consequent on polyarchy, the necessity of sole command, of a dictatorship," had been complied with. His conditions, that the imperial troops throughout Germany should be placed wholly and solely under his command; that the emperor should in no wise interfere with military affairs; that every conquest made by him should be entirely at his own disposal; that he should be compensated by the formal grant of one of the hereditary provinces of Austria and of another, that he should be empowered to confiscate whatever property he chose for the maintenance of his troops; were conceded by the emperor on the day on which his rival, Tilly, expired, April, 1632, and within a few months his wonderful genius had, as if by magic, raised a fresh and numerous army from the clod.

The Saxons were speedily driven out of Bohemia. The Voigtland was ravaged by Wallenstein's infamous partisan, Holk, who advanced as far as Dresden and burned the neighboring villages as a bonfire for the elector, who was at that time solemnizing a festival. Wallenstein meanwhile guarded Bohemia. The entreaties of his ancient foe, Maximilian, for the liberation of Bavaria, were unheeded; his views for the present turned upon Saxony, and the conse-

quent retreat of the Swedes northward; instead, therefore, of advancing upon Bavaria, he forced Maximilian to join him at Eger, where he publicly embraced him, and marched thence to Leipzig, which shortly capitulated.

Wallenstein had now gained his purpose. Gustavus, through dread of the defection of the vacillating and timid elector, was compelled to renounce his projects against the South and to turn his arms against the imperial leader; but, unwilling entirely to cede the South, he took up a strong position with sixteen thousand men near Nuremberg, where he awaited the arrival of reinforcements. Wallenstein, although at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, was too well acquainted with the advantageous position of his antagonist to hazard an attack, and took up an equally impregnable position on the Old Mountain close to the Swedish camp. Three months passed in inactivity, and a famine ere long prevailed both in Nuremberg and in Wallenstein's camp. The peasantry had fled in every direction from the pillaging troops, who destroyed whatever they were unable to carry away. The Swedes succeeded in seizing a large convoy of provisions intended for Wallenstein, and were shortly afterward reinforced by the chancellor of Sweden, Oxenstierna, by Bernard von Weimar, and by Banner. The Swedish army now amounted to seventy thousand men. Nuremberg, Gustavus's firm ally, could send thirty thousand into the field. Wallenstein, who patiently awaited the destruction of the enemy by famine, kept close within his camp. The Swedes at length, rendered furious by want, attempted to take the imperial camp by storm, but were repulsed with dreadful loss. The Swedish general, Torstenson, was taken prisoner, and Banner was wounded. The imperial general, Fugger, was killed while pursuing the Swedes. Another fourteen days elapsed, when Gustavus, unable to draw his opponent forth, was compelled, after losing twenty thousand men, and the city of Nuremberg ten thousand of her inhabitants, to quit this scene of death and famine. Pestilence had, however, raged with still greater fury in Wallenstein's

camp, and had cut his immense army down to twenty-four thousand men, September, 1632.

Gustavus, in the hope of carrying the war into Bavaria and into the heart of the Catholic states, marched southward; while Wallenstein, anxious to render Northern Germany the theatre of war, took a contrary direction. Leaving a hundred villages around Nuremberg in flames, he marched, with terror in his van, through the Thuringian forest to Leipzig, which, panic-stricken, threw wide her gates. Pappenheim joined him, but, unaware of the rapidity with which Gustavus had turned in pursuit, again set off for Lower Saxony. Gustavus, in the hope of bringing Wallenstein to an engagement on the plains of Leipzig, now rapidly advanced through the country lately pillaged by his foe, and summoned his ally, George von Luneburg, to his assistance. The confidence of that prince in the fortune of the Swede had been, however, severely shaken by the reappearance of Wallenstein, and he refused to obey. Arnheim, who had quitted Silesia, also tarried at Dresden. At Erfurt, Gustavus bade adieu to his queen, Eleonore.

The battle of Lutzen commenced early in the morning of the 6th of November, 1632, not far from the scene of Tilly's former defeat. Gustavus would have scarcely ventured, without first awaiting the arrival of reinforcements, to have attacked Wallenstein, had he not learned the departure of Pappenheim, who was now hastily recalled from Halle, which he had just reached. A thick fog, that lasted until eleven o'clock, hindered the marshalling of the troops, and gave the Pappenheimers time to reach the field before the conclusion of the battle. Wallenstein, although suffering from a severe attack of gout, mounted his steed and drew up his troops. His infantry was drawn up in squares, flanked by cavalry and guarded in front by a ditch, defended by artillery. Gustavus, without armor, on account of a slight wound he had received at Dirschau, and exclaiming, "At them in God's name! Jesus! Jesus! Jesus! let us vindicate to-day the honor of thy holy name!" brandished his sword

over his head and charged the ditch at the head of his men. The infantry crossed and seized the battery. The cavalry, opposed by Wallenstein's black cuirassiers, were less successful. "Charge those black fellows!" shouted the king to Colonel Stalhantsch. At that moment the Swedish infantry, which had already broken two of the enemy's squares, were charged in the flank by Wallenstein's cavalry, stationed on the opposite wing, and Gustavus hurrying to their aid, the cavalry on the nearest wing also bore down upon him. The increasing density of the fog unfortunately veiled the approach of the imperialists, and the king, falsely imagining himself followed by his cavalry, suddenly found himself in the midst of the black cuirassiers. His horse received a shot in the head, and another broke his left arm. He then asked Albert, duke of Saxon-Lauenburg, who was at his side, to lead him off the field, and, turning away, was shot in the back by an imperial officer. He fell from his saddle; his foot became entangled in the stirrup, and he was dragged along by his horse, maddened with pain. The duke fled, but Luchau, the master of the royal horse, shot the officer who had wounded the king. Gustavus, who still lived, fell into the hands of the cuirassiers. His German page, Lubelfing, a youth of eighteen, refused to tell his master's rank, and was mortally wounded. The king was stripped. On his exclaiming, "I am the king of Sweden!" they attempted to carry him off, but a charge of the Swedish cavalry compelling them to relinquish their prey, the last cuirassier, as he rushed past, shot him through the head.[1]

The sight of the king's charger, covered with blood, wildly galloping along the Swedish front, confirmed the report of the melancholy fate of his royal master. Some of the Swedish generals, more especially Kniphausen, who drew off his men in reserve, meditated a retreat, but Duke Bernard of Weimar, spurning the idea with contempt and

[1] Gustavus was extremely fine and majestic in person, his eyes were blue and gentle in expression, his manners commanding, noble, and conciliating. His countenance was open and attractive.

calling loudly for vengeance, placed himself at the head of a regiment, whose colonel, a Swede, he ran through for refusing to obey him, and regardless, in his enthusiasm, of a shot that carried away his hat, charged with such impetuosity that the ditch and the battery were retaken and Wallenstein's infantry and cavalry were completely thrown into confusion. The latter fled; the gunpowder carts were blown up; the day was gained. At that moment, Pappenheim's fresh troops poured into the field and once more turned the battle. The body of the king, defended by Stalhantsch, was sharply contested by Pappenheim, who fell, pierced with two bullets. His men fought with redoubled rage on the death of their commander; Wallenstein rallied his troops, and a desperate conflict of some hours' duration ensued, in which the flower of the Swedish army fell and the ditch and battery were lost. Bernard was forced to retreat, and the battle was for the third time renewed by Kniphausen's reserved corps, which pressed across the ditch, followed by the rest of the weary Swedes. This last and desperate charge was irresistible. Wallenstein, driven from the field, fled across the mountains to Bohemia, and his brutal soldiery were scattered in every direction. Numbers were slain by the Protestant peasantry. Those of his officers who had first fled were afterward put to death at his command.

The bloody corpse of the king was found by the great stone still known as the Swedish Stone. It was laid in state before the whole of the Swedish army, which responded to Bernard's enthusiastic address, with a vow to follow him wherever he led. This enthusiasm, however, speedily cooled. Bernard's sole command of the troops was frustrated by the jealousy of the Swedish officers. In Sweden, Gustavus had merely left an infant daughter, Christina. The ex-king of Bohemia died of horror, at Mayence, on receiving the news of the death of his friend and protector. His consort, Elisabeth Stuart, resided for many years afterward at Rhenen,[1]

[1] Elisabeth Stuart dwelt for a considerable period at Rhenen under the protection of the States-general, mourning for her husband, whose place of burial

near Utrecht. The battle of Lutzen filled the imperialists, notwithstanding their defeat, with the greatest delight. Public rejoicings were held at Madrid. The emperor, Ferdinand, discovered no immoderate joy at his success, and even showed some signs of pity on seeing the bloodstained collar of his late foe. The pope, Urban VIII., ordered a mass to be read for the soul of the fallen monarch, whose power had curbed that of the emperor. The emperor's foes have, at every period, been regarded with secret good-will by the pope.

Axel Oxenstierna, Gustavus's minister and his most faithful friend, became regent of Sweden during the minority of the queen, Christina, and followed in the footsteps of his noble master. But he was merely a statesman, not a military leader; a minister, not a king. Sweden, instead of placing a Protestant emperor on the throne of Germany, could henceforward merely endeavor to secure liberty of conscience to the German Protestants. Gustavus's ambition had embraced the whole of Germany; that of Oxenstierna

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was unknown, her brother, Charles I. of England, whose head had rolled on the scaffold, and her unfortunate children. Her eldest son, Henry Frederick, was drowned, A.D. 1629, at Amsterdam. The second, Charles Louis, became, on the termination of the war, elector of the Pfalz, but lived unhappily with his wife, and, taking a mistress, his mother refrained from returning thither. The third, Robert, after distinguishing himself against Cromwell and Spain, remained with his mother and occupied himself with the study of chemistry. The fourth, Maurice, disappeared after a naval engagement with the Spanish flotilla, and was supposed to have been lost in a storm at sea. The fifth, Edward, dishonored his family, that had suffered so much for the sake of religion, by turning Catholic, and entered the French service. The sixth, Philip, a brave adventurer, murdered a nobleman and fled into France. He was killed in the French service during a siege. The seventh, Gustavus, died in his boyhood. The eldest daughter, Elisabeth, rejected the hand of Wladislaw of Poland from a religious motive, studied philosophy, was a friend of Descartes and of William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, and died Lutheran abbess of Herford. The second, Henrietta Maria, married Ragoczy, prince of Transylvania, but died shortly after the wedding. The third, Louisa, had a talent for painting and remained for a long time with Robert in attendance on her mother, whom she suddenly quitted in order to take the veil. She became Catholic abbess of Maubuisson. The fourth, Sophia, married a poor prince, Ernest Augustus of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the youngest of four brothers.—Elisabeth and her son Robert, the only one of her numerous family left in her old age, repaired to England on the restoration of the Stuarts. She died there, A.D. 1662. Robert also died in England, leaving no legitimate issue.

simply extended to the possession of one of her provinces. Had Gustavus lived, Germany might have become great, united, and happy; France would have been confined within her limits; Sweden would have become a German province; the German provinces on the Baltic would have been incorporated with the empire; Livonia would have been saved, and the Russians checked. Oxenstierna, by his project for the dismemberment of Germany and his consequent coalition with France, was, instead of the friend, the most dangerous foe to the German cause. The coalition of the Catholics and Protestants for the expulsion of the foreigner was urgently necessary for the salvation of the empire, but the Protestants, intimidated by the edict of restitution, placed no confidence in the promises of their Jesuitical sovereign. The confederated princes, bribed by French gold, promises, and grants, still carried on the war and remained true to Oxenstierna, who, notwithstanding the opposition offered by France and Saxony, was elected head of the confederacy in a convocation of the princes held at Heilbronn.

The Swedish troops were once more thrown into Upper Germany, and Bernard von Weimar set off for the Upper Danube in order to form a junction with Horn, in the spring of 1633. The Bavarian cavalry, under John von Werth, vainly intercepted him; they were repulsed, and a junction took place with Horn at Neuburg, where the clamor raised by the officers for the payment of their long arrears was silenced by the seizure of the ecclesiastical property and its partition among them. Bernard received, as his share of the booty, the bishoprics of Wurzburg and Bamberg as a new Franconian duchy, while Horn usurped the government of Mergentheim. Night skirmishes conducted by the cavalry and light troops became from this period more frequent, and pitched battles of rare occurrence.

Wallenstein, meanwhile, remained immovable in Bohemia. France attempted to shake his fidelity to the emperor by an offer of the Bohemian crown. Spain, actuated by her ancient distrust, sent an army under Feria, with orders to

join the division of Wallenstein's army under Altringer at Kempten, in which he succeeded, notwithstanding the advance of French troops into the Grisons. Horn, who had, meanwhile, laid siege to Constance, now rejoined Bernard, and offered the Spaniard battle near Tutlingen. Feria, however, declined coming to an engagement, and, after entering Alsace and relieving Breisach, at that time besieged by the Rheingrave von Salm, dragged the remainder of his army, which during the winter had fallen a prey to pestilence and famine, through Swabia to Munich, where he expired, while Horn remained tranquilly at Balingen.

France, in the hope of confirming her possession of Lorraine, still kept that country garrisoned with her troops. In the North, George von Luneburg continued to oppose Gronsfeld; William of Hesse and his brave general, Holzapfel, took Paderborn, and, uniting with George and a small Swedish army under Kniphausen, laid siege to Hameln. Gronsfeld and his Dutch allies, the Counts Merode and Geleen, hastening to the relief of that town, were completely routed at Hessisch-Oldendorf. Hameln and Osnabruck capitulated. Böninghausen, the imperial partisan, and Stalhantsch, the Swedish colonel, took up their quarters in Hesse.—Wallenstein's partisan, Holk, meanwhile, laid Thuringia waste, took and plundered Leipzig, and burned Altenburg, Chemnitz, and Zwickau to the ground. In Zwickau, a pestilence, caused by the famine and the heaps of putrid dead, broke out and raged like an avenging spirit among Holk's troops. He sought safety in flight, but the pestilence kept pace with his movements, strewing his path with the dying and the dead, and at length made him its victim at Tirschenreuth. Wrung with anguish and remorse, he sent his horsemen out in every direction, and offered six hundred dollars to any one who would bring a Lutheran pastor to administer the sacrament before he expired; but shortly before this he had ordered the assassination of every ecclesiastic in the country, and the few who remained having taken

refuge in the forests, he died in agonies of despair before one could be found to perform that office.

Wallenstein's officers, Illow, Gœtz, and Octavio Piccolomini, a venal Italian mercenary, the most depraved wretch that appeared on the scene during the war, also carried fire and sword into Silesia and completely destroyed the city of Reichenbach. Some thousand Poles under Dohna aided to ravage the country. These flying corps, however, retreated to Bohemia on the arrival of Arnheim with his Saxons and of a Swedish troop under Colonel Duval. The Protestant towns, particularly Breslau, gave them a hearty welcome. Dohna, who had defended that city, narrowly escaped assassination by the enraged citizens. Duval, however, treated the city with extreme severity, plundered the Catholic churches and ecclesiastical property, destroyed the ancient and magnificent cathedral library, and converted the church of St. Bartholomew into a stable. The bishop, Charles Ferdinand, fled into Poland. A multitude of Silesians, who had been compelled to embrace Catholicism, again recanted. The whole of the imperial garrison in Strehlen was massacred by the Swedes, A.D. 1633. Wallenstein now appeared in person in Silesia, out-manœuvred Arnheim, with whom he carried on a secret correspondence, and surprised the small body of Swedes remaining at Steinau, where he captured the aged Count Thurn, whom he restored to liberty in order to mortify the Viennese, and to flatter the national feeling of the Bohemians, whose sovereign he might one day become. Grœdizberg, where he seized the treasures of Frederick, duke of Liegnitz, was taken, Nimptsch burned to the ground, and the wretched inhabitants throughout the country were massacred and tortured, without regard to age or sex. Arnheim was pursued into the Lausitz. Gœrlitz and Bautzen capitulated. Terzki took Frankfort on the Oder, and Wallenstein suddenly returned to Bohemia in order to oppose Bernard of Weimar.

Bernard, unopposed by John von Werth, who had merely beaten a few Swedish regiments under Sperreuter from their

quarters in the vicinity of Augsburg, had marched down the Danube, and in November taken possession of Ratisbon. Wallenstein looked on with indifference, and when at length induced to return by the urgent entreaties of the Bavarians and of the Viennese court, evaded coming to an engagement and went back to Bohemia. John von Werth gained a slight advantage at Straubing.

It is a well-confirmed fact that Wallenstein carried on negotiations with Saxony and Brandenburg, and that the latter hoped by his aid to restore the intermediate power so long desired between the emperor and Sweden. It is also indubitable that France favored this intrigue and assured to Wallenstein the possession of Bohemia. If, at the same time, he secretly corresponded with Oxenstierna, it was solely for the purpose of compelling the others to accede to better terms; the Swede did not believe him to be in earnest. It is impossible to discover to what lengths Wallenstein intended to go. His first object was at all events to secure a support in case he should again fall a victim to the Spanish-Bavarian faction. At the same time, he confided the fact of his negotiations to the emperor, who, believing their sole object to be to sound all parties, authorized him to carry them on. The ambiguity and reserve with which he consequently acted rendered him an object of suspicion to all parties, and, moreover, no one valued his alliance unless he was backed by his army. The cessation of hostilities, caused by continual negotiation, was, meanwhile, highly distasteful to his soldiery, in whose minds prejudices were busily instilled by the Jesuits, who, at the same time, whispered to the bigoted Catholics that the duke of Friedland was on the point of going over to the Protestants. The foreign troops were easily gained; the German soldiery remained firm in their allegiance to Wallenstein. Ulric, prince of Denmark, who had entered the camp to negotiate with Wallenstein, was shot, as if by accident, by one of General Piccolomini's bodyguard. Wallenstein, either unable or unwilling to come to terms with the enemy unless secure beforehand of the co-

operation of his army, endeavored to outwit the Jesuits by offering to resign his command. The conduct of the army appeared to meet Wallenstein's highest expectations. A violent commotion ensued in the camp at Pilsen; the whole of the officers entreated Wallenstein not to abandon them, and, at a banquet given by his confidant, Field-marshal Illow, a document, by which they in their turn bound themselves never to desert him, was signed by them all. The foreign officers also added their signatures, but with intent to betray him.

The jealousy of the emperor was, meanwhile, inflamed by the insinuations of the Jesuits. The Spanish ambassador exclaimed, "Why this delay? a dagger or a pistol will remove him!" His assassination was resolved upon by the emperor, who, in perfect conformity with his character, wrote to him continually in the most gracious terms, for twenty days after having signed the warrant for his death. The voluptuary, Octavio Piccolomini, in whom Wallenstein, blinded by a superstitious belief in the conjunction of their stars, placed the most implicit confidence, betrayed all his projects to the emperor, who committed to General Gallas the decree for the deposition of Wallenstein, his nomination as generalissimo in his stead, and a general amnesty for the officers. This secret order was solely confided by Gallas to the foreign officers, to Piccolomini, to Isolani, Colloredo, Butler, etc.; and the general amnesty was afterward exchanged for a decree, depriving all the German generals of their appointments and replacing them with foreigners.

Wallenstein, suddenly abandoned by Piccolomini and the rest of the foreign generals, fled with the few regiments that still clung to him (there were traitors among them) to Eger. Driven by necessity, he now demanded aid from Bernard von Weimar, who had taken Ratisbon and was in his neighborhood. The astonishment caused by this message was extreme, and Bernard, who believed Wallenstein in league with the devil, exclaimed, "He who does not trust in God can never be trusted by man!" Wallenstein's hour was

come. Colonel Butler, an Irish officer named Lesley, and a Scotchman named Gordon, who were probably in league with the Jesuits, conspired, in the hope of being richly rewarded by the emperor, against the life of their great leader and common benefactor. The soldiers used by Butler for this purpose consisted of Irishmen, two Scotchmen, and an Italian. Illow, Terzki, Kinsky, and Captain Neumann were murdered during a banquet held in the castle of Eger.[1] The door of Wallenstein's apartment was burst open. Wallenstein sprang from his bed and was met by Devereux, who cried out to him, "Are you the villain who would sell the army to the enemy and tear the crown from the emperor's head?" Wallenstein, without replying, opened his arms and received a mortal wound in the breast, February 25, 1634.[2]

Bernard von Weimar reached Eger shortly after the murder, and found the town in the hands of the imperialists. Butler and Lesley were created counts and richly rewarded by the emperor. Neustadt was bestowed upon Butler, the whole of Terzki's possessions upon Lesley, those of Kinsky upon Gordon. Devereux received a badge of distinction and a pension. Wallenstein's possessions were divided among his betrayers, Gallas receiving Friedland; Piccolomini, who, on the murder of his former friend had helped himself richly to his treasures, being merely rewarded with the gift of Rachod, Colloredo with Opotschno, Altringer with Tœplitz, Trautmannsdorf with Gitschin. The emperor appropriated Sagan to himself. The money left in Wallenstein's treasury by Piccolomini was scattered as a largesse among the soldiery. The officers who had most firmly adhered to their former leader were, although guiltless of participation in his political schemes, banished, in order to make room for foreigners; twenty-four of their number were beheaded at Pilsen. The emperor, at the same time, published

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[1] The banqueting-hall, where this tragic scene took place, is now all that remains of the castle of Eger.—*Trans.*

[2] The room in the burgomaster's house, where this murder was committed, may still be seen by the inquisitive traveller.—*Trans.*

a manifesto, in which he attempted to justify Wallenstein's base assassination by loading his memory with false aspersions, the very negotiations carried on by him at his command and with his knowledge being brought forward in proof of the criminality of his designs.

CCIX. *The Battle of Nœrdlingen—The Treaty of Prague —Defeat of the French*

WALLENSTEIN'S army, a few regiments excepted, which dispersed or went over to the Swedes, remained true to the emperor. The archduke, Ferdinand, was appointed generalissimo of the imperial forces, which were placed under the command of Gallas. Another army was conducted across the Alps by the Cardinal Infanto, Don Fernando, brother to Philip IV. of Spain, A.D. 1634. Had Bernard been aided by the Saxons or by Horn, the whole of the imperial army might easily have been scattered during the confusion consequent on the death of its commander, but the Saxons were engaged in securing the possession of the Lausitz, and it was not until May that Arnheim gained a trifling advantage near Liegnitz. Horn laid siege to Ueberlingen on the Lake of Constance, with a view of retarding the advance of the Spaniards. A small Swedish force under Banner retook Frankfort on the Oder and joined the Saxons. The little town of Hœxter was plundered, and all the inhabitants were butchered by Geleen, George von Luneburg delaying to grant his promised aid in the hope of seizing Hildesheim for himself. Hildesheim capitulated in July. The country swarmed with revolutionary peasant bands, whom hunger had converted into robbers. The upper Rhenish provinces were equally unquiet. Bernard remained inactive on the Danube, alone disturbed by John von Werth, who once more drove him from his quarters at Deggendorf. Feuquières, meanwhile, strenuously endeavored to win the Heilbronn confederation over to the interests of France, and to dissolve their alliance with Sweden. Lœffler had abandoned the Swedish service

for that of France, and his master, the young Duke Eberhard of Wurtemberg, was, like William of Hesse, in the pay of that crown.

The whole of the Protestant forces were thus scattered when the great imperial army broke up its camp in Bohemia and advanced upon Ratisbon, with the design of seizing that city and of joining the Spanish army then advancing from Italy. Bernard vainly summoned Horn to his aid; the moment for action passed, and, when too late, he was joined by that commander at Augsburg, and the confederates pushed hastily forward to the relief of Ratisbon. Landshut was taken by storm and shared the fate of Magdeburg. Altringer, while vainly attempting to save the city, perished in the general conflagration. The castle, which had been converted into a powder magazine, was blown up, A.D. 1634. The news of the capitulation of Ratisbon, on the 26th of July, reached the victors midway. Arnheim and Banner appeared on the same day before Prague. The imperialists, nevertheless, indifferent to the fate of Bohemia, continued to mount the Danube. The advanced Croatian guard committed the most horrid excesses. At Nœrdlingen, a junction took place with the Spanish troops. The imperial army now amounted to forty-six thousand men under Ferdinand III., the Cardinal Infanto, the elector of Bavaria, the duke of Lorraine, Generals Gallas and John von Werth. The Protestants, although reinforced by the people of Wurtemberg, merely numbered thirty thousand. Bernard, too confident of success, and impatient to relieve the city of Nœrdlingen, at that time vigorously besieged by the imperialists, rejected Horn's advice to await the arrival of the Rheingrave, and resolved to hazard a battle. On the 26th of August, A.D. 1634, he made a successful attack and gained a favorable position, but was, on the following day, overwhelmed by numbers. The explosion of his powder-magazine, by which numbers of his men were destroyed, contributed to complete his defeat. Count Thurn the Younger vainly endeavored to turn the battle and led his men seventeen times to the

charge. Horn was taken prisoner, and twelve thousand men fell. Bernard fled. His treasures and papers fell into the hands of the enemy. The Rheingrave, who was bringing seven thousand men to his aid, was surprised and completely routed by John von Werth and Charles of Lorraine. Heilbronn was plundered during the retreat by the Swedish Colonel Senger, who fled out of one gate with his booty as the imperialists entered at another to complete the pillage.

The horrors inflicted upon Bavaria were terribly revenged upon Swabia. The duke of Wurtemberg, Eberhard III., safe behind the fortifications of Strasburg, forgot the misery of his country in the arms of the beautiful Margravine von Salm. Waiblingen, Nürtingen, Calw, Kirchheim, Bœblingen, Besigheim, and almost every village throughout the country, were destroyed; Heilbronn was almost totally burned down; the inhabitants were either butchered or cruelly tortured. To pillage and murder succeeded famine and pestilence. The population of the duchy of Wurtemberg was reduced from half a million to forty-eight thousand souls. The Jesuits took possession of the old Lutheran university of Tubingen. Osiander, the chancellor of the university, unmoved by the example of his weaker brethren, who recanted in order to retain their offices and dignities, bravely knocked down a soldier, who attacked him, sword in hand, in the pulpit. The Catholic service was, in many places, re-established by force. The whole of Wurtemberg was either confiscated by the emperor or partitioned among his favorites; Trautmannsdorf received Weinsberg; Schlick, Bablingen and Tuttlingen, etc.; Taupadel, who had been left by Bernard in Schorndorf, was forced to yield. Augsburg was again distinguished amid the general misery by the loss of sixty thousand of her inhabitants, who were swept away by famine and pestilence. The remaining citizens, whom starvation alone compelled to capitulate, were deprived of all their possessions, forced to recant, and refused permission to emigrate. Wurzburg, Frankfort, Spires, Philipsburg, the whole of Rhenish Franconia, besides Mayence, Heidelberg,

and Coblentz, fell into the hands of the emperor. The whole of the Pfalz was again laid waste, and the inhabitants were butchered in such numbers that two hundred peasants were all that remained in the lower country. Isolani devastated the Wetterau with fire and sword, and plundered the country as far as Thuringia. The places whither the Swedes had fled for refuge also suffered incredibly. The fugitive soldiery, without provisions or baggage, clamored for pay, and Oxenstierna, in order to avoid a general pillage, laid the merchants, assembled at the fair held at Frankfort on the Maine, under contribution. The sufferings of the wretched Swabians were avenged by the embittered soldiery on the Catholic inhabitants of Mayence.

The imperial army, although weakened by division, by garrisoning the conquered provinces, and by the departure of the Infanto for the Netherlands, still presented too formidable an aspect for attack on the part of Bernard, who, unwilling to demand the aid he required from France, remained peaceably beyond the Rhine. The Heilbronn confederacy had, independently of him, cast itself into the arms of France. Lœffler, the Swedish chancellor, and the chief leader of the confederation, had contrived to secure to France, without Bernard's assent, the hereditary possession of Alsace, for which he was deprived of his office and banished by Oxenstierna. The celebrated Dutchman, Hugo Grotius, replaced him as Swedish ambassador in Paris. Wurtemberg and Hesse had long forwarded the interests of France.

The sin committed by the Heilbronn confederation against Germany by selling themselves to France is alone to be palliated by the desperate situation to which they were reduced by the defection of the Protestant electors. Saxony and Brandenburg again concluded peace, A.D. 1635, at Prague, with the emperor, to whom they abandoned all the Protestants in southern and western Germany and the whole of the Heilbronn confederation, under pretext of the urgent necessity of peace, of the restoration of the honor of Germany and of the happiness of the people by the expulsion of the foreigner.

Saxony was reinstated in the territory of which she had been deprived by the edict of restitution, and received the Upper Lausitz as a hereditary fief. Augustus, elector of Saxony, was also nominated administrator of the archbishopric of Magdeburg in the room of the Archduke Leopold. A Saxon princess, the daughter of the electoress Magdalena Sibylla, was given in marriage to Prince Christian of Denmark as an inducement to that prince to take the field against Sweden. Brandenburg received the reversion of Pomerania, whose last duke, Bozislaw, was sick and childless. The princes of Mecklenburg and Anhalt, and the cities Erfurt, Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Ulm, also conformed to the treaty for the sake of preserving their neutrality, for which they were bitterly punished.

Had the emperor taken advantage of the decreasing power of Sweden, of the procrastination on the part of France, and of the general desire for peace manifested throughout Germany, to publish a general amnesty and to grant the free exercise of religion throughout the empire, the wounds inflicted by his bloodthirsty policy might yet have been healed; but the gray-headed hypocrite merely folded his hands, dripping in gore, in prayer, and demanded fresh victims from the god of peace. Peace was concluded with part of the heretics in order to secure the destruction of the rest. The last opportunity that offered for the expulsion of the foreign robber from Germany was lost by the exclusion of the Heilbronn confederation from the treaty of Prague by the emperor; and although they in their despair placed the empire at the mercy of the French, and their country for centuries beneath French influence, their crime rests on the head of the sovereign, who by his acts placed the empire on the brink of the precipice, and on those of the dastardly electors, who, for the sake of securing an enlarged territory to their houses, basely betrayed their brethren. The elector of Saxony, for the second time unmindful of his plighted faith, abandoned Protestant Silesia to the wrath of the Jesuits, and the fate of the remaining Protestant provinces, excluded from the

treaty of Prague, may be read in that of the Pfalz and of Wurtemberg.

Oxenstierna hastened in person to Paris for the purpose of making terms with Richelieu, and thereby counterbalancing the league between the emperor, Saxony, and Brandenburg, and Bernard von Weimar was compelled passively to behold the dispute between Sweden and France for sovereignty over Protestant Germany. The French soldiery were, moreover, so undisciplined and cowardly that they deserted in troops. Bernard was consequently far from sufficiently reinforced, but nevertheless succeeded in raising the siege of Heidelberg. The death of the energetic and aged Rheingrave took place just at this period.

While matters were thus at a standstill on the Upper Rhine, success attended the imperial arms in the Netherlands. The French, victorious at Avaire, were forced to raise the siege of Louvain by the Infanto and Piccolomini, A.D. 1635. The Dutch were also expelled the country. Bernard, fearing to be surrounded by Piccolomini, retired from the Rhine into Upper Burgundy. Heidelberg fell; two French regiments were cut to pieces at Reichenweiler by John von Werth; Hatzfeld took Kaiserslautern by storm, and almost totally annihilated the celebrated yellow regiment of Gustavus Adolphus. Mayence was closely besieged, and France, alarmed at the turn of affairs, sent the old Cardinal de la Valette to reinforce Bernard, who advanced to the relief of Mayence and succeeded in raising the siege, notwithstanding the cowardice of the French, who were forced by threats to cross the Rhine. John von Werth, meanwhile, invaded Lorraine, and, with Piccolomini and the Infanto, made a feint to cross the French frontier. La Valette and Bernard instantly returned, pursued by Gallas and already surrounded by Colloredo,[1] who was defeated by Bernard at Meisenheim, where he had seized the pass. Hotly pursued by Gallas

[1] The Colloredo are descended from the Swabian family of Walsee, which, in the fourteenth century, settled in the Friaul, and, at a later period, erected the castle on the steep (collo rigido).

and hard pushed by the Croatians, Bernard escaped across the Saar at Walderfingen on a bridge raised on wine-casks, before the arrival of the main body of the imperialists, which came up with his rearguard at Boulay, but met with a repulse. After a retreat of thirteen days, the fugitive army reached Metz, in September, 1635. Gallas fixed his headquarters in Lorraine, but the country had been already so completely pillaged that he was compelled to return in November, and to fix his camp in Alsace-Gabern, where he gave himself up to rioting and drunkenness, while his army was thinned by famine and pestilence. Mayence was starved out and capitulated, after having been plundered by the Swedish garrison.

In the commencement of 1636, Bernard visited Paris, where he was courteously received by Louis XIII. The impression made upon his heart by the lovely daughter of the Duc de Rohan was no sooner perceived than a plan was formed by the French court to deprive him of his independence as a prince of the empire. Bernard discovered their project and closed his heart against the seductions of the lady. The aid promised by France was now withheld. Both parties were deceived. France, unwilling to defray the expenses of a war carried on by Bernard for the sole benefit of Protestant Germany, merely aimed at preserving a pretext for interference in the political and religious disputes agitating that country, and, for that purpose, promised Bernard a sum of four million livres for the maintenance of an army of eighteen thousand men.

The reconquest of Alsace followed; at Gabern, which was taken by storm, Bernard lost the forefinger of his left hand, and the bed on which he lay was shattered by a cannon-ball. He returned thence to Lorraine, where he carried on a petty war with Gallas and took several fortresses. The humanity evinced by him at this period, so contrary to the license he had formerly allowed his soldiery from a spirit of religious fanaticism, proceeded from a desire to please the French queen, the celebrated Anne of Austria, the daughter

of Philip III. of Spain. He surprised Isolani's Croatians at Champlitte, and deprived them of eighteen hundred horses and of the whole of the rich booty they had collected, A.D. 1636.

In the beginning of the year, John von Werth had, independently of Gallas, ventured as far as Louvain, where a revolution had broken out. The Gallo-Dutch faction, nevertheless, proved victorious, and the imperialists were expelled. Werth, unable to lay siege to the town with his cavalry, revenged himself by laying the country in the vicinity waste. In April, he joined Piccolomini with the view of invading France and of marching full upon Paris. This project was, however, frustrated by Piccolomini's timidity and by the tardy movements of the infantry. This expedition, undertaken in defiance of the orders of the elector of Bavaria, forms one of the few amusing episodes of this terrible tragedy. Werth, advancing rapidly with his cavalry, beat the French on every point, forced the passage of the Somme and Oise, and spread terror throughout France. The cities laid their keys at his feet, the nobles begged for sentinels to guard their houses, and paid them enormous sums. Paris was reduced to despair. The roads to Chartres and Orleans were crowded with fugitives, and the metropolis must inevitably have fallen had Werth, instead of allowing his men to remain behind plundering the country, pushed steadily forward. By this delay, Richelieu gained time to levy troops and to send the whole of the disposable force against him. A part of the French troops were, nevertheless, cut to pieces during a night attack at Montigny, and it was not until the autumnal rains and floods brought disease into his camp that Werth retired. He remained for some time afterward at Cologne, where he wedded the Countess Spaur (of an ancient Tyrolese family). Ehrenbreitstein, still garrisoned by the French, who had long lost Coblentz, was closely besieged by Werth, and forced by famine to capitulate, A.D. 1637.

William of Hesse, instead of joining Bernard after the battle of Nœrdlingen, had raised troops with the money re-

ceived by him from France and had seized Paderborn, which was retaken by the imperialists, A.D. 1636. George von Luneburg, who had, in 1634, become the head of the Guelphic house on the death of Frederick Ulric of Wolfenbuttel, long hesitated to give in his adhesion to the treaty of Prague, but Oxenstierna, on becoming acquainted with his intercourse with the emperor, depriving him, by means of Sperreuter, of his best regiments, his hesitation ceased and he acceded to the emperor's terms. Sperreuter, who had deserted with the Lower Saxon regiments to the Swedish general, Banner, now went over to the emperor, and Baudis to Saxony. A reaction took place in all the German regiments under the Swedish standard, of which the Prague confederation failed to take advantage, and their commanders were bribed by Kniphausen to remain in the pay of Sweden. This general fell, in January, 1636, at Haselune, during an engagement with Geleen, who was beaten off the field. Minden was betrayed, in May, by the commandant Ludingshausen, Kniphausen's son-in-law, to the Swedes.

The remnant of the old Swedish army under Banner found itself exposed to the greatest danger by the conclusion of peace at Prague. Banner had, together with the elector of Saxony, advanced upon Bohemia, whence he was now compelled to retreat. On the alliance between George von Luneburg and Saxony, Baudis was despatched against him, November, 1635, but was defeated at Dœmitz, and Banner, dreading to be cut off by an imperial corps under the Bohemian, Marzin, who had taken Stargard by storm and pillaged that town, withdrew to Pomerania. During this autumn, the French ambassador, d'Avaux, had succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation between Wladislaw of Poland and Sweden, and in terminating the long war between those countries. The Swedish regiments under Torstenson consequently evacuated Livonia and Prussia and united with those under Banner; while, on the other hand, a wild troop of Polish Cossacks marched to the aid of the emperor. This cunning policy on the part of France caused

the war to rage with redoubled fury. Banner and Torstenson defeated the Saxons in the depth of winter at Goldberg and Kiritz, and, in February, Banner again invaded Saxony and cruelly visited the defection of the elector on the heads of his wretched subjects. The arrival of Hatzfeld at the head of a body of imperialists compelled him to retire behind Magdeburg, where Baudis was severely wounded and relinquished the command. Each side now confined itself to manœuvring until the arrival of reinforcements. The Swedish troops arrived first, and Hatzfeld and the Saxons, being drawn into an engagement at Wittstock, before Gœtz was able to join them, were totally defeated. Hatzfeld was wounded, and the elector lost the whole of his baggage and treasure. Saxony was again laid waste by Banner's infuriated troops. The gallant defence of Leipzig increased their rage. All the towns and villages in the vicinity were reduced to ashes. A similar fate befell Misnia, Wurzen, Oschatz, Colditz, Liebwerda, and several smaller towns. The peasants fled in crowds to the fortified cities and to the mountains, and, to complete the general misery, famine and pestilence succeeded to the sword and the firebrand. A bloody revenge was taken by Derflinger with a Brandenburg squadron on a thousand Swedish horse that ventured into the province of Mansfeld. Banner finally assembled his troops and intrenched himself in Torgau, which he stored with provisions, while Gallas, Gœtz, Hatzfeld, and the elector of Saxony advanced to the attack.

CCX. *Death of Ferdinand the Second—Pestilence and Famine—Bernard von Weimar—Banner*

THE favor of the electoral princes being secured by the treaty of Prague, they were, in the autumn of 1636, convoked by Ferdinand II. to Ratisbon, for the purpose of electing his son, the Archduke Ferdinand, as his successor on the throne. Ferdinand II. expired, A.D. 1637, after having the gratification of quelling the revolt of the peasantry in Car-

niola and Upper Austria. In Erfurt, the imperial general, Hatzfeld, seized the government, imprisoned and tortured the Lutheran clergy, and drained the coffers of the citizens. Nuremberg, Augsburg and Ulm met with an almost similar treatment.

Ferdinand bequeathed the empire to his son, Ferdinand III., a man of insignificant character, whose mother, Maria, also a Habsburg, was daughter to Philip III. of Spain. The late emperor, notwithstanding the immense scale on which he performed his part and the unheard-of calamities which, worse than the worst of despots, he inflicted upon his subjects, did not live to witness the triumph of his party. Napoleon, who carried fire and sword almost throughout Europe, brought less death and sorrow on the world than this quiet and devout emperor, to whose religious and political fanaticism ten millions of his fellow men were sacrificed. The people were deprived by him of their political and religious liberty. The ancient German constitution was annulled and the principles of absolute monarchy, like those of Spain, were for the first time carried into practice in the hereditary provinces of the Habsburg, and ere long in those of Germany. The assembling of the Estates became an empty court ceremony. Had the emperor triumphed, Germany would at least have been rewarded with the acquisition of unity for the loss of her liberty, but her evil destiny deprived her of the one without granting the other.

During the year in which the old emperor closed his eyes that had so long gloated on blood, the misery that reigned throughout Germany had reached the highest pitch; the horrors of the long war, the destruction of the towns and villages by fire, the torture and murder of the citizens and peasantry by the soldiery, were accompanied by a famine, which depopulated whole districts; the land remained uncultivated, and a pestilence resulted from want, bad food, and the putridity of the air occasioned by the heaps of unburied dead. The soldier, driven by necessity as well as by love of rapine, snatched the last morsel from the hands of

the famishing wretches that remained. Bands of Marauders (Merode-brothers, so called from their leader, the Count von Merode) composed of peasantry and of homeless wanderers, who sometimes aided one party, sometimes another, cruelly avenging themselves on the soldiery or joining them in their predatory excursions, ranged the country and forced the inhabitants, by the infliction of the most horrid tortures, to open their concealed hoards of provisions or of treasure. Whole provinces were so completely pillaged as to afford no sustenance to the troops, and men and children fought like wolves for a morsel of carrion.

The historians of this period graphically describe this excess of misery. Ferdinand II., on his accession to the throne, found Austria Lutheran, thickly populated, and prosperous; he left her Catholic, depopulated, and impoverished. He found in Bohemia three million Hussites dwelling in flourishing cities and villages, he left merely seven hundred and eighty thousand Catholic beggars. Silesia, happy and blooming, was laid desolate; most of her little cities and villages had been burned to the ground, her inhabitants put to the sword. Saxony, the Mere, and Pomerania had shared the same melancholy fate. Mecklenburg and the whole of Lower Saxony had been ruined by battles, sieges, and invasions. Hesse lay utterly waste. In the Pfalz, the living fed upon the dead, mothers on their babes, brethren on each other. In the Netherlands, Liege, Luxemburg, Lorraine, similar scenes of horror were of frequent occurrence. The whole of the Rhenish provinces lay desert. Swabia and Bavaria were almost entirely depopulated. The Tyrol and Switzerland had escaped the horrors of war, but were ravaged by pestilence. Such was the aspect of Europe on the death of Ferdinand II., who, like an aged hyena, expired amid mouldering bones and ruins.

Bernard von Weimar a second time visited Paris, where he was now upheld by Oxenstierna through his friend, Hugo Grotius (the Swedes being unable to take any measures in the North so long as he remained fixed in the South). He,

in the meantime, allowed his troops to pillage Champagne, which speedily induced the French monarch to furnish him with the means of satisfying the demands of his soldiery. Charles, duke of Lorraine, and Mercy, the Bavarian, had, meanwhile, fixed their quarters in Burgundy. A bloody engagement took place with the latter at Besançon, in which Bernard, who crossed the Saone on horseback at the head of his men in the face of the enemy, was victorious. Isle, Lure, and several other Burgundian fortresses fell successively into his hands, and, A.D. 1637, he again pushed forward as far as the Rhine, where he strongly fortified the islands. Twice surprised by John von Werth, he plunged into the stream and escaped by swimming. Still, notwithstanding the cowardice of the French troops, almost the whole of whom ran away, success crowned his efforts. The winter quarters on the Rhine being insecure, he suddenly crossed the stream with his dismounted cavalry, a disease having carried off their horses, and threw himself among the mountains in the bishopric of Basel, where no enemy had yet penetrated, and which was well stored with supplies. The opposition made by the peasantry and the threats of the Catholic Swiss, whose Protestant countrymen sided with him, were equally unavailing. The fortifications on the Rhine were, meanwhile, speedily taken by Werth from the cowardly French garrisons, while his unworthy colleague, the Duke di Savelli, vainly sought to draw Bernard into the emperor's service. Hugo Grotius was equally unsuccessful in his project for regaining him for Sweden, by marrying him to the young queen, Christina, and a fresh dispute arose between Bernard and France on account of the cession of Veltlin by that kingdom to the Grisons and the consequent abandonment of Duc Rohan, who capitulated to the Spanish under Serbelloni, A.D. 1637, and took refuge in Bernard's camp.

At the head of a hardy troop, merely six thousand strong, Bernard unexpectedly broke up his camp on the Dellsberg, January 17, 1638, and penetrated into the Frickthal, firmly resolved to maintain himself on the Upper Rhine, and by

success, and fresh levies of troops, to win for himself the power in Germany which he had so long and so vainly attempted to gain by means of France. Laufenburg and Waldshut were taken by surprise. Rheinfelden, where four hundred of the garrison were destroyed by the explosion of a mine, made a gallant defence. John von Werth and Savelli hastened to its relief, and, on the 18th February, a desperate engagement took place beneath the city walls. Bernard, overwhelmed by numbers, was forced to quit the field; the brave Rheingrave fell, and Rohan was wounded. But on the 21st, Bernard unexpectedly assailed the enemy while celebrating their victory in Rheinfelden and completely routed them. Both the leaders, the gallant John von Werth and the worthless Savelli, Generals Enkefort and Sperreuter, with almost the whole of the army, were taken prisoners. John von Werth, contrary to the promise given by Bernard, was sent a prisoner to Paris, where he was treated with great distinction. Savelli was sent on his parole to Laufenburg, whence he found means to escape.

Bernard continued to pursue the enemy and to collect reinforcements. His old school-fellow, Guebriant, joined him with a small number of French. Rheinfelden and Freiburg in the Breisgau fell into his hands. Taupadel took Stuttgard. The possession of Breisach, the key to the whole of Upper Germany, was keenly disputed. Gœtz, the field-marshal of the empire, hastening to its relief, was routed at Benfeld by Taupadel. The battle of Wittenweyer, in which Bernard, whose forces were far less considerable, was victorious over Gœtz and Savelli and an army of eighteen thousand five hundred men, followed. Taupadel, who had rashly ventured too far in pursuit, was captured by Savelli, who kept him in close imprisonment. Breisach still refused to capitulate, and the besieging army suffered a considerable loss from the attacks of the peasants of the Black Forest. Horst, who was bringing a supply of flour and powder, was forced to retreat and was deprived of part of his stores. Charles, duke of Lorraine, when attempting to relieve the city, was taken

prisoner at Thann. Bernard, who had for some time been suffering from fever, being carried from the field half dead to his camp, Gœtz attempted to take him unawares, and had already reached the bridges over the Rhine, when Bernard, springing from his couch, bestrode his battle-steed, and rushed to the defence. The troops, inspired with enthusiasm at the sight of an eagle hovering over his head, pressed forward, and, after a dreadful struggle, succeeded in routing the imperialists, numbers of whom were drowned in the Rhine. Breisach was driven by famine to capitulate. The garrison was promised food and free egress. The treatment of the prisoners taken by the imperialists during the siege, some of whom were starved to death, while the rest fed upon their comrades, was not known until the terms of capitulation had been acceded to; Bernard, nevertheless, although his heart burned within him, remained true to his given word.

Savelli, the fitting favorite of the Jesuits and of the Viennese court, had, with consistent baseness, effected the removal and imprisonment of his worthier rival, Gœtz. On the fall of Breisach, he had again recourse to diplomacy, and called upon Bernard, in the name of his country, to join the emperor. Bernard replied, "that a duke of Saxony needed no lesson in patriotism from an Italian duca," and, garrisoning Breisach with German troops, refused to deliver that fort into the hands of the French. But, either for the purpose of pacifying Richelieu, or of providing Breisach with fresh stores, he returned to Burgundy during the depth of winter, and seized that part of the earldom which had hitherto escaped the ravages of war. The peasantry were defeated, the lofty, rocky stronghold of Joux was taken, and an immense number of horses and stores of every description were carried to Breisach. Richelieu made fresh advances, but, being personally offended by Bernard's refusal of the hand of his niece and heiress, Margaret de Vignerot, he, from that moment, resolved upon his ruin. Erlach, one of Bernard's most confidential officers, was bribed with an

annuity of twelve thousand livres to betray his noble-spirited master. Bernard's intention to maintain himself independent of France was clearly evident. He placed German garrisons in all the strongholds, received petitions as the sovereign of Alsace, negotiated with Sweden, and, unadvised by France, sought an alliance with Hesse. His death speedily followed. On his way to Pfirt he was suddenly taken ill, and was carried to Neuburg, where he expired, A.D. 1639. Almost all contemporary writers assert his having been poisoned by a French emissary. "Germany," wrote Hugo Grotius, "was, in this prince, deprived of her greatest ornament and of her last hope, of almost the only one worthy of the name of a German prince."[1]

Bernard bequeathed his conquests and the whole of his personal property to his brother, to the express exclusion of France; but the traitor, Erlach, to whom he had intrusted Breisach, delivered that fortress up to France, seized the whole of his treasures, appropriated the most valuable portion to himself, and distributed two hundred thousand dollars among the soldiery as a French largesse, in consideration of which they were bound to serve France until the question of the inheritance was settled. This settlement never took place. The German officers and soldiers were kept in a state of uncertainty, and the possibility of a mutiny on their part was obviated by the fortresses being garrisoned half with French, half with Germans, until the inactivity of the Swedes, the helplessness of the dukes of Weimar, and the seduction practiced upon the troops, left the German officers no alternative than to remain in the French service, to which they yielded the more readily on the appointment of their ancient comrade, Guebriant, to their command.

The young Pfalzgraf, Charles Louis, the son of the unfortunate king of Bohemia, made a futile attempt to replace

[1] Bernard von Weimar was a handsome man, scarcely in his thirtieth year, with a manly, sunburned countenance. His hair, which was remarkably long, lay in thick, bright curls upon his shoulders. He never married, and was equally chaste and pious. He daily devoted several hours to the study of the Bible, which he knew almost entirely by heart.

the loss of Bernard. Assisted by the English, and by his gallant brother, Robert (Bernard's rival with the beautiful Rohan), he had raised a little army on the coasts of northern Germany, but was, in October, 1638, defeated at Vlotho by Hatzfeld. He escaped with great difficulty. Robert was taken prisoner. Charles Louis returned to England, whence, in the hope of placing himself, on Bernard's death, at the head of his leaderless army, he hastened, with a sum of money, to Alsace, but—through France, where, by Richelieu's order, he was deprived of his treasure, and kept prisoner at Vincennes, until Bernard's army had sworn allegiance to France, when, on his binding himself by oath never to act against the interests of that country, he was contumeliously set at liberty.

William, Landgrave of Hesse, meanwhile, driven out of his territories, which had been confiscated by the emperor, had thrown himself into East Friesland, where he laid the country waste and raised fresh troops with the money taken from the inhabitants. He died A.D. 1637. The contest with the emperor was carried on after his death by his widow, Amelia Elizabeth, while the Hessian Estates and their general Holzappel concluded a truce, in order to spare the country, three hundred villages having been burned to the ground by Geleen. The duchess, a zealous Calvinist, demanded, as a pledge of the emperor's good faith, the toleration of Calvinism, Lutheranism being alone tolerated by the treaty of Prague. Had the three forms of worship been at once placed on an equal footing, how much needless misery might not Germany have been spared! Her demand was left unnoticed during a whole year.—George von Luneburg, although a party to the treaty of Prague, remained in close alliance with Sweden, preserved a strict neutrality, and guarded his possessions. Kœnigsmark of Brandenburg, a Swedish general, one of the boldest robbers of the day, devastated the Eichsfeld with German troops and levied contributions upon the bishop of Wurzburg, Hatzfeld's brother, A.D. 1639.

The French confining themselves to the occupation of Alsace, the emperor, Bavaria, Saxony, and Brandenburg turned their united forces against the Swedes. The claims of Brandenburg upon Pomerania on the death of Bozislaw, the last of her dukes, A.D. 1637, had been treated with derision by the Swedes, and, from that moment, the elector George William, aided by his general Klitzing, had discovered the greatest zeal in opposing them. Arnheim, who had thrown up his command and was living peaceably at Boitzenburg, was seized by the Swedes, who dreaded lest he might replace himself at the head of the Saxons, and sent to Stockholm. Gallas, Hatzfeld, Gœtz, and Geleen, meanwhile, attacked Banner and drove him from his intrenchments in Torgau; but, although completely surrounded, he contrived by means of a ruse to escape across the Oder to Landsberg, where, disappointed in meeting Wrangel, he found himself exposed to the most imminent danger, shut in between the imperial army, the Warthe, and the Polish frontiers, which the fear of involving Poland in a fresh war withheld him from crossing. With extraordinary presence of mind he made a feigned march toward Poland, drew the imperial army on that side, and succeeded in drawing himself out of his perilous situation without incurring the slightest loss, July, 1637. "They caught me in the sack," said he, "but forgot to tie it up!" He retreated to the sea, while Gallas laid the whole country waste, took Havelberg, Dœmitz and Wolgast, where he destroyed the magnificent castle of the Pomeranian dukes; the more ancient one in Schwedt had, at an earlier period, been burned by the Swedes. The Mere suffered in an equal degree, and, exactly at this moment, Klitzing, offended at the conduct of Burgsdorf, the elector's favorite, withdrew from the scene of action. The peasants in Drœmling rose against the plundering soldiery and captured their artillery. Gallas's men, neglected, as in Alsace, by their voluptuous general, were driven by famine to desert in troops to Banner, who had in the meantime again drawn George von Luneburg on his side with a prom-

ise of confirming him in the possession of Hildesheim. A fresh treaty was concluded, A.D. 1638, between Sweden and France, and, in the spring of 1639, Banner again took the field, and, after defeating Marzin, who at that time headed the Saxons, near Chemnitz, and taking a corps under Hofkirch and Montecuculi prisoner near Brandeis, overran Bohemia as far as Prague, where he encamped on the Weissen Berg. A small Swedish corps under Stalhantsch occupied Silesia, where the famine was so dreadful that at Hirschberg, for instance, almost the whole of the inhabitants died of hunger, and the few who survived attached themselves to the Swedish troop for the sake of the remnants of food left by the soldiers. Banner, disappointed in his hope of finding some Hussites still in Bohemia, at length quitted that wretched country, which presented a complete scene of desolation, in order to join Guebriant and to prevent the formation of an intermediate party in Northern Germany.

The footsteps of the retreating Swedes were marked by fire and blood. In Thuringia the people fled in crowds into the Harz Forest. The duchess of Hesse sent a reinforcement of twenty thousand men, and George of Luneburg sent Klitzing, whom he had taken into his service, with the whole of his forces, to his aid. The great imperial army, led by the Archduke Leopold, the emperor's brother, and by Piccolomini, who had stepped into Gallas's place and had just been created Duke d'Amalfi on account of a victory gained by him at Diederhoven in the Netherlands over the French, came up with Banner at Saalfeld, where both armies remained encamped opposite to one another, without venturing an engagement, and suffering terribly from famine, the whole country in the vicinity having been laid desert. Banner's wife, a Countess Erlach, dying in his camp, A.D. 1640, he bore her remains, accompanied by his whole army, to Erfurt, where his tears were speedily dried by a passion for the Princess Johanna of Baden-Durlach, whom he met there by chance. Piccolomini also quitted Saalfeld in order to join the Bavarians under Mercy, who had been employed in

watching the movements of the Weimarians in Swabia and the Pfalz, and the two armies again met near Neustadt, but without coming to an engagement. Both sides, meanwhile, fell a prey to famine and pestilence. Holzappel, who had attempted to form a German party independent of France and Sweden, threw up his commission in disgust, and a separate alliance was formed between the duchess and George. Banner, equally indifferent to the movements of the imperial army and to the remonstrances of Guebriant, followed the Princess Johanna to Waldeck, where he solemnized his marriage with her. He took up his winter quarters at Hildesheim with George von Luneburg. Both George and Banner are said to have been poisoned during the festivities that took place; the ill-health of the former may, however, be ascribed, on stronger grounds, to mental anxiety, that of the latter to debauchery. Taupadel was exchanged for Sperreuter.

An attempt made during this winter by Banner to seize the person of the emperor, who had convoked a diet at Ratisbon, was frustrated by the rising of the Danube, occasioned by a sudden thaw. Guebriant, fearful of the desertion of the Weimar troops should he quit the Rhine, abandoning him to the emperor, who was advancing at the head of an overwhelming force, he retreated through Bohemia into Saxony. Three Swedish regiments under Colonel Slangen were cut to pieces, after gallantly defending his rear, at Wald-Neuburg. Although rejoined by Guebriant, he was still unable to cope with his antagonists, and, after vainly attempting the defence of the Saal near Merseburg, was compelled to take refuge in Halberstadt, where, worn out with his lingering sickness, he expired, May, 1641. George von Luneburg had preceded him to the grave, and Arnheim, who had escaped from his Swedish prison to place himself at the head of the intermediate party, had also died not long before.

The advance of Piccolomini to the relief of Wolfenbuttel, where the imperial garrison had long held out against the besieging Protestants, terminated the disputes already rife in

the Swedish camp, and all the Protestant troops, those of Hesse alone excepted, instantly reuniting, a brilliant victory was gained beneath the walls of Wolfenbuttel by the Weimar troops under Guebriant, those of Banner under Wrangel, Pfuel, and Kœnigsmark, and the Luneburg regiments under Klitzing. The Hessians rejoined them after the conflict, but Guebriant, attempting to follow up the advantage unaided by the Swedes, who refused to act until the arrival of Torstenson, was twice discomfited, and William Otto, count of Nassau, was slain.

Eberhard von Wurtemberg had, meanwhile, A.D. 1641, repaired to Vienna, made his submission to the emperor and been restored to his possessions, which had been entirely depopulated and laid waste by the imperial troops.

CCXI. *Torstenson—John von Werth—The Peace of Westphalia*

THE listlessness with which the war was carried on in Germany proved that the moment for concluding the peace, so earnestly desired by all parties, had arrived. Ferdinand III., and even Maximilian of Bavaria, recognized the impossibility of completely suppressing the Reformation and the necessity of conciliation. Peace, nevertheless, could not be concluded; France and Sweden still sought to tear the prey from each other's grasp. In France, after the death of Cardinal Richelieu, 1642, and that of Louis XIII., 1643, the government had been undertaken, in the name of the youthful monarch, Louis XIV., by Cardinal Mazarin, who pursued a policy similar to that of his predecessor in office, and refused to bring the war to a termination until France had prostrated Germany at her feet. In Sweden, Oxenstierna and the Swedish aristocracy, instead of following in the footsteps of Gustavus Adolphus, who had projected the union of Sweden with Germany, the triumph of the gospel, and the marriage of his daughter, Christina, with Frederick William of Brandenburg, solely aimed at the conversion of the Ger-

man coasts of the Baltic into a Swedish province, and rejected the alliance of the elector of Brandenburg, who, visiting Stockholm, A.D. 1637, Christina quitted that city without deigning to receive him. Her mother, the aunt of the intended bridegroom, was also compelled to quit the kingdom.

Frederick William, afterward surnamed the Great Elector, succeeded his father, George William, in Brandenburg, A.D. 1640. This prince might easily have placed himself at the head of all the Protestants in Northern Germany, have concluded an advantageous peace with the emperor, and have chased the handful of Swedes and French, disputing like vultures over the remnants of their prey, across the frontiers; but distrust of the Catholics, of the sovereigns ruled by the Jesuits, had struck root too deeply, and the edict of restitution was still too recent for him at that period to pursue the policy he afterward adopted. He might possibly have been also disinclined to play a part subordinate to that acted by Saxony, and have hoped, by opposing the false Saxon, to be recognized as the first Protestant prince in Germany on the demise of George, when Brandenburg, in fact, first superseded Saxony as the head of the German Protestants.

The Guelphs, Christian Louis von Calenberg, Frederick von Celle, and Augustus von Wolfenbuttel, went over, notwithstanding the victory gained by them beneath the walls of Wolfenbuttel, to the emperor, who confirmed Calenberg in the possession of Hildesheim. The influence of this family was considerably weakened by the division of its possessions among its different members.

The war, meanwhile, continued, the Germans remaining true to the colors of both France and Sweden, the latter of which sent a small body of reinforcements, scarcely seven thousand strong, and a fresh leader, Leonard Torstenson, who, late in the autumn of 1641, took the command of Banner's late troops. Guebriant separated from him in order to oppose Lamboy on the Lower Rhine. In the spring of 1642, after encamping at Salzwedel in sight of Piccolomini without

being able to bring him to an engagement, he suddenly invaded Silesia, which Francis Albert von Lauenburg had just wrested from Stalhantsch, defeated Lauenburg near Schweidnitz, took him prisoner and entered Moravia, with the view of forming an alliance with Ragoczy, prince of Transylvania, and of besieging Vienna; but that prince, who, like Bethlen Gabor, merely made use of the Protestants for the purpose of extorting favorable terms from the emperor, showed no inclination to lend him aid. The siege of Brunn, which offered a steady resistance, was abandoned. Olmutz and the whole of Moravia, hitherto spared by the ravager, were plundered. Torstenson then returned to Silesia, burning Buntzlau and seizing Zittau en route, and was reinforced by Kœnigsmark and Wrangel. The imperialists, who had taken a terrible vengeance on the Protestant Silesians, by whom Torstenson's arrival had been hailed with delight, had, meanwhile, fruitlessly blockaded Glogau, gallantly defended by Wrangel. Torstenson, on the arrival of a large body of Hungarian reinforcements in the imperial camp, retreated from the Oder to the Elbe and laid siege to Leipzig, whither he was pursued by the imperialists, who, not far from Leipzig, near Breitenfeld, twice already the scene of their discomfiture, met, November 2, 1642, for a third time, with a total defeat. Torstenson's horse was killed under him. The Swedish generals, Lilienhœk and Slangen, were slain. Two of the imperial colonels, Madlo and Defour, who had been the first to quit the field, were put to death. A reunion afterward took place between Torstenson and Guebriant, who concerted an attack upon Bavaria, which, however, was not put into execution, Guebriant returning to the Rhine, and Torstenson, after spending the winter months in a futile siege of Freiburg in Saxony, again fixing himself in Moravia, with the view of carrying the war into the emperor's hereditary provinces and of awaiting aid from Ragoczy.

The campaign of 1643 was opened by Gallas, Piccolomini having, after the disaster of Breitenfeld, re-entered the service of Spain, and the archduke having withdrawn to his

bishopric of Passau; but Torstenson, after a second and futile attempt upon Brunn, unexpectedly received orders to advance upon Denmark, by whose humiliation alone Sweden could hope to secure her conquests in Northern Germany. The superiority of the Danish over the Swedish fleet, moreover, rendered the presence of the army indispensable. Austria and Saxony were also busily intriguing with Denmark. The urgency of the circumstances demanded instant action; by a sudden stroke alone could the movement to the rear of the Swedes be checked; Torstenson, accordingly, mounting almost the whole of his infantry, hurried through Silesia and in fifteen days reached Holstein. The Danes, taken by surprise, submitted. Jutland was as rapidly conquered, and his hungry soldiery took up their winter quarters in these fertile countries, which had, until now, escaped the ravages of war. The brave Ditmarses alone ventured to oppose their unwelcome guests. Ragoczy, meanwhile, advanced upon Hungary and kept a part of the imperial troops occupied, so that Gallas was unable to follow the Swedes at the head of a strong enough force until 1644, when, strengthened by the junction of the Danish army at Kiel, he shut Torstenson up in Jutland. That commander, nevertheless, contrived to elude his vigilance, and, by mounting his infantry, unexpectedly passed his opponents and re-entered Germany, where Kœnigsmark had, in the meantime, made head against the Saxons, and, after losing Chemnitz, had taken Torgau. Ragoczy had been driven out of Hungary by Gœtz. Torstenson was pursued by Gallas, whom he in his turn shut up in Bernburg, whence, after losing a number of his men by famine, he escaped to Magdeburg. Enkefort, marching to his relief, was defeated and taken prisoner by Torstenson at Juterbok. In the winter of 1645, Gallas, who, in the midst of the want by which he was surrounded, continued his drunken revels, found means to escape with two thousand men to Bohemia. Wrangel was, in the meantime, victorious over the Danes. Hatzfeld and Gœtz were hastily recalled, the former from Lower Germany, where he

had watched the movements of the Hessians and of Kœnigsmark, the latter from Hungary, in order to protect the hereditary provinces, which again lay open to Torstenson. Bavaria also sent John von Werth, who had at length been exchanged for the Swedish field-marshal, Horn, to their aid, and, in the spring of 1645, the imperialists took the field in considerable numbers. A bloody engagement took place at Jankau, in Bohemia. The imperialists, deeming the victory secure, dispersed for the sake of plunder and were overpowered. Hatzfeld was taken prisoner. The whole of Austria now lay open to the victor. Iglau, Krems, and Kornneuburg were taken, and the country was laid waste up to the gates of Vienna. Torstenson was, notwithstanding, unable, from want of artillery, to lay formal siege to Vienna, whence the empress and her court had fled into the mountains. Ragoczy, instead of supporting the Swedes, accepted a bribe from the emperor, and Count Buchheim, who had until now been engaged in opposing the Hungarians, advancing to the relief of Vienna, Torstenson retired and finally evacuated Moravia after another ineffectual attempt upon Brunn. His restless lieutenant, Kœnigsmark, who now aided the French, now the Hessians, now rejoined the main body of the Swedes or pillaged the country on his own account, had, in the interim, blockaded Dresden and compelled the elector of Saxony to accede to a truce, consequently to recede from the imperial party, A.D. 1645. This important success brought repose to the Swedes. Torstenson, long a victim to gout, finally ceded the command to Gustavus Wrangel and returned to Sweden. During this year Denmark also purchased peace with Sweden by the cession of the island of Oesel.

In 1642, Guebriant had set out for the Lower Rhine, and had defeated and captured Lamboy on the Hulser heath, near Kempen. Hatzfeld, who was at that time watching the movements of the Hessians and guarding Cologne, retreated before his superior forces into the Alps, leaving the Catholic provinces on the Rhine at the mercy of the foe,

who laid the country waste with fire and sword. The Prince of Orange advanced in order to unite his forces with those of Guebriant, who at length received a reinforcement of French troops, four thousand strong, all of whom shortly afterward ran away. John von Werth, who had been exchanged for Horn, also appeared in Cologne, where the citizens, embittered by Hatzfeld's inactivity, embraced his knees as their deliverer. Both sides were, however, too weak to hazard an engagement. Guebriant returned in autumn to Central Germany with the view of attacking Bavaria in conjunction with Torstenson; this project was, however, abandoned, and, finding himself hard pushed by the Bavarians under the Lothringian, Mercy, and John von Werth, he once more retreated upon Breisach, and after being beaten from his quarters in Gœppingen, Ofterdingen, and Hemmendorf, reached the Kinzigthal with his half-famished troops. Swabia was reduced to a state of indescribable misery by the depredations committed by both parties.

Banner's German army having been reintegrated by several thousand Swedes under Torstenson, France reinforced that under Guebriant with a body of troops under the Count de Ranzau, Anne of Austria's handsome and gallant favorite, who, in the summer of 1643, laid siege to Rotweil, which was betrayed into his hands. While encamped, during November, in and around Tuttlingen, he was suddenly surrounded by Mercy, Charles, duke of Lorraine, Hatzfeld, and John von Werth, and fell, with the greater part of his army, into their hands. Taupadel, who lay sick in the town, contrived to escape, and the evening before this unexpected disaster, Guebriant, who had been severely wounded during the siege of Rotweil, expired. Numbers of the fugitive French were slain by the German peasants, who, throughout the war, took a bloody but just vengeance on the brigand invader. The military science displayed by Mercy on this occasion was rewarded with the appointment of generalissimo over the allied imperial, Bavarian, and Lothringian troops. During his stay in Swabia, where he fruitlessly

blockaded Hohentviel, the fugitive Weimar troops pillaged Burgundy. Taupadel's regiment was almost cut to pieces by the enraged peasantry. In the summer of 1614, Turenne, who, as well as Guebriant, had served his apprenticeship of arms under Bernard von Weimar, crossed the Rhine at the head of a fresh French army, and advanced to the relief of Freiburg in the Breisgau, at that time closely besieged by Mercy. Freiburg, nevertheless, fell, uncontested by Turenne, who awaited the arrival of a second French army under the Duc d'Enghien, afterward known as the great Condé. A dreadful battle was fought near Freiburg, in which Condé, who arrived too late to turn the fate of the day, was driven off the field, and Mercy, too much enfeebled by his victory to make head against the superior forces of the enemy, evacuated Swabia, where provisions were no longer to be procured, and retreated on the Maine. John von Werth took Mannheim and Hœchst by surprise. The whole of the Bergstrasse was garrisoned by Bavarians. The French fixed their headquarters on the Upper Rhine and seized Philippsburg. Nothing of importance occurred on the Lower Rhine.

Several skirmishes took place with various success on both sides in the opening of the campaign of 1645. Mercy was struck dead by a cannon-ball, August 3, and Geleen was taken prisoner in the battle of Allerheim in the Ries, which was gained and lost by both sides, Enghien, after routing the Bavarians, being himself driven off the field by John von Werth, who arrived at the termination of the conflict. The defection of the elector of Saxony from the imperial cause was now imitated by Maximilian of Bavaria, who also sought to promote his own interest by a renewal of amicable relations with France. Geleen was, consequently, exchanged for Grammont, who had been taken prisoner at Allerheim; the command of the Bavarian forces was, however, bestowed upon him in the place of the gallant John von Werth, whose principles were too favorable to the emperor. Enghien and Turenne withdrew. Peace was con-

cluded at Ulm between Bavaria and France in November, 1646. The defection of Bavaria was deeply felt by the emperor. Geleen threw up his command in disgust, and John von Werth, who had simply regarded the Bavarians as troops of the empire, was released from his oath of allegiance to Maximilian, and attempted to desert with his entire army to the emperor. His project, however, failed; he was abandoned to a man by the Bavarian troops, and, with Spork and some other officers, narrowly escaped Wallenstein's fate. A price of ten thousand dollars was placed upon his head, and his possessions in Bavaria, on the Rhine and in the Netherlands were, at Maximilian's command, destroyed by fire.

Wrangel, meanwhile, invaded Upper Swabia in the depth of winter, plundered Ravensburg and Leutkirch, overcame the desperate resistance of the peasantry near Kempten and Isny, and, after laying a hundred villages in ashes, returned, in the spring of 1647, to Franconia, where he took Schweinfurt. Turenne, in the meantime, laid the country around Darmstadt waste. Paderborn, so often the bone of contention during this war, and which had been taken by the Landgravine of Hesse in 1645, was recaptured by Melander von Holzappel, who had long quitted the service of the Landgravine, and, although a Protestant, was now appointed generalissimo of the imperial troops; such vicissitudes were there in a war which had originally been a religious one! Gallas was dead. Piccolomini, now Duke d'Amalfi, again displayed great activity in the Netherlands and even invaded France. The great im perial leaders had disappeared one by one, and had been succeeded by Montecuculi, who was now recalled from Silesia, where he had greatly harassed the little Swedish garrisons, to Melander's aid.

Turenne, covered to the rear by the Bavarians under Gronsfeld, hastened to the Netherlands in order to check the progress of Piccolomini. The German cavalry, the Weimar veterans, however, refused to follow the infantry across the French frontier, and, on the 21st of June, 1647, turned back

from Saarbruck, and, recrossing the Rhine, advanced upon Swabia. Turenne vainly sought to restrain them by force. Headed by William Hempel, a student from Jena, they fought their way back to their native country, and two thousand of their number joined Kœnigsmark in Westphalia.

Eger falling into the hands of Wrangel, who, in July, 1647, again invaded the hereditary provinces, the emperor, accompanied by Melander and John von Werth, took the field in person at the head of the whole of his forces. Both sides, nevertheless, contented themselves with petty skirmishes, and, although neither army was considerable in number, the wasted country was unable to furnish them with supplies. In September, Maximilian of Bavaria renewed his alliance with Austria. Wrangel, compelled to retreat before the united forces of Melander and Gronsfeld, threw himself into Hesse, where he fixed his winter quarters, in order to punish the Landgravine for her French policy. Turenne re-entered Germany, and, uniting with Wrangel, again invaded Swabia. Gœppingen, Heidenheim, Gmund, Ehingen, were pillaged; Wiesensteig was burned. Melander and Gronsfeld were defeated at Zusmarshausen on the Bavarian frontier, May 17, 1648. Melander was killed. The victors spread, robbing and murdering, over Bavaria, and Kœnigsmark was sent to invade Bohemia.— In this extremity, the emperor recalled Piccolomini and reinstated him in the command of his universally defeated troops, while Maximilian had once more recourse to Enkefort, who had again planted the imperial standard in Upper Swabia, and John von Werth retook the command of the imperial cavalry. Still one disaster followed another in rapid succession. Lamboy, who had been left in Hesse by Melander, was defeated by Geis near Grevenburg, and George of Darmstadt was finally compelled to make a formal cession of Marburg to the Landgravine. The archduke was also defeated by d'Enghien near Lens in the Netherlands, August, 1648. Kœnigsmark had, meanwhile, ap-

peared unexpectedly before Prague and taken the Neustadt, where he made an immense booty, by treachery and surprise.[1] The Altstadt was gallantly defended by Rudolph Colloredo. The Pfalzgraf, Charles Gustavus, the newly-appointed generalissimo of the Swedish forces, followed with reinforcements, was joyfully welcomed in Leipzig, and marched rapidly upon Prague to the conquest of the Altstadt.

Peace was, at this conjuncture, proclaimed throughout the empire to all the armies, to all the besieged cities, to the trembling princes, to the wailing people. The wild soldiery were roused to fury at the news. At Feuchtwangen, Wrangel dashed his cocked hat to the ground and gave orders to let loose all the furies of war during the retreat. The beautiful city of Liegnitz in Silesia was wantonly set on fire by one of his men. The neighboring city of Jauer was similarly treated by the imperial troops, who, shortly before the peace, had attacked the Swedes in that place. Turenne, the idol of France, acted in the same manner. Neresheim was sacked, and Weil was laid in ashes by his soldiery. This robber-band at length disappeared behind the Vosges, A.D. 1649.—Had the disputes between the Royalists and Cardinalists in France been turned to advantage, a peace more favorable for Germany might have been concluded, but no one, with the exception of the indefatigable Charles of Lorraine, appeared conscious of the fact. He joined the French princes, carried on the war at his own cost, and, in 1649, defeated Mazarin's troops at Cambray.

Plenipotentiaries from the belligerent powers had, since 1644, been assembled at Osnabruck and Munster in Westphalia, for the purpose of concluding peace. The hatred subsisting between the different parties in Germany had insensibly diminished, and each now merely aimed at sav-

[1] The valuable collection of paintings of the Emperor Rudolph II., among others some fine Correggios, were carried away. The youthful queen, Christina, possessed little taste for the fine arts, and had the finest heads cut out of the pictures and pasted upon tapestry. The rest of this invaluable collection, 250 pictures, were purchased at a later period for the Orleans gallery at Paris. The most valuable part of the booty was the celebrated Bible of Ulphilas.

ing the little remaining in its possession. Misery and suffering had cooled the religious zeal of the people, license that of the troops, and diplomacy that of the princes. The thirst for blood had been satiated, and passion, worn out by excess, slumbered. Germany had long sighed for the termination of a struggle solely carried on within her bosom by the stranger. The Swedes and French had, however, triumphed, and were now in a position to dictate terms of peace favorable for themselves, and a long period elapsed before the jealous pretensions of all the parties interested in the conclusion of peace were satisfied. The procrastination of the emperor, who allowed three-quarters of a year to elapse before giving his assent to the treaty of peace, the tardiness of the French and Swedish ambassadors in appearing at the congress, the disputes between the members about titles, right of precedence, etc., carried on for months and years, are to be ascribed not so much to the pedantry of the age, to Spanish punctilio and to German tedium, as to the policy of the belligerent powers, who, whenever they expected a fresh result from the manœuvres of their generals, often made use of these means for the sole purpose of prolonging the negotiations.

The fate of our great fatherland, the prospects of the immense empire over which Charlemagne and Barbarossa had reigned, lay in the hands of Avaux, the shameless French ambassador, who cited the non-occupation of the left bank of the Rhine by France as an extraordinary instance of generosity, and of Salvius, the Swedish envoy, who, ever dreading to be outwitted by his principal antagonist, Avaux, vied with him in impudence. At the side of the former stood Servien, at that of the latter John Oxenstierna, the son of the great chancellor. Trautmannsdorf, the imperial envoy, a tall, ugly, but grave and dignified man, alone offered to them a long and steady resistance, and compelled them to relinquish their grossest demands. By him stood the wily Volmar of Wurtemberg, a recanted Catholic. The Dutch ambassador, Paw, vigilantly watched over the interests of

his country, in which he was imitated by the rest of the envoys, who, indifferent to the weal of Germany as a whole, were solely occupied in preserving or gaining small portions of territory from the great booty. Barnbuhler of Wurtemberg, whose spirit and perseverance remedied his want of power, and the celebrated natural philosopher, Otto von Guerike, the inventor of the air-pump, burgomaster of ruined Magdeburg, might also be perceived in the background of the assembly, which had met to deliberate over the state of the empire under the presidency of foreigners and brigands.

The misery caused by the war was, if possible, surpassed by the shame brought upon the country by this treaty of peace. In the same province where Armin had once routed the legions of Rome, Germany bent servilely beneath a foreign yoke. At Munster, Spain concluded peace with Holland. The independence of Holland and her separation from the empire were recognized, and Germany was deprived of her finest provinces and of the free navigation of the Rhine; a fatal stroke to the prosperity of all the Rhenish cities. The independence of Switzerland was also solemnly guaranteed. Peace was concluded between France and the empire. France was confirmed in the possession of Metz, Toul, Verdun, and the whole of Alsace, with the exception of Strasburg, of the imperial cities and of the lands of the nobility of the empire situated in that province, in consideration of which, Breisach and the fortress of Philippsburg, the keys to Upper Germany, were ceded to her, by which means Germany was deprived of one of her finest frontier provinces and left open to the French invader, against whom the petty princes of Southern Germany being, consequently, unprotected, they fell, in course of time, under the influence of their powerful neighbor.—At Osnabruck, peace was concluded with Sweden, which was indemnified for the expenses of the war by the payment of five million dollars and by the cession of the bishoprics of Bremen and Verdun, the objects of Danish jealousy, of the city of Wismar, the island of Rugen, Stral-

sund, consequently, of all the important posts on the Baltic and the Northern Ocean.

One portion after another of the holy German empire was thus ceded to her foes. The remaining provinces still retained their ancient form, but hung too loosely together to withstand another storm. The ancient empire existed merely in name; the more powerful princes virtually possessed the power and rendered themselves completely independent, and the supremacy of the emperor, and with it the unity of the body of the state, sank to a mere shadow. Each member of the empire exercised the right of making war, of concluding peace, and of making treaties with every European power, the emperor alone excluded. Each of the princes possessed almost unlimited authority over his subjects, while the emperor solely retained some inconsiderable prerogatives or reservations. The petty princes, the counts, knights, and cities, however, still supported the emperor, who, in return, guarded them against the encroachments of the great princes. The petty members of the empire in Western Germany would, nevertheless, have preferred throwing themselves into the arms of France.

Every religious sect was placed on an equal footing, their power during the long war having been found equal, and their mutual antipathy having gradually become more moderate. The imperial chamber was composed of equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants, and, in order to equalize the power of the electoral princes, the Rhenish Pfalz, together with the electoral office, was again restored to its lawful possessor. Bavaria, nevertheless, retained both the electoral dignity and the Upper Pfalz, notwithstanding the protest made by Charles Louis, the son of the ex-king of Bohemia, against this usurpation. All church property, seized or secularized by the Protestants, remained in their hands, or was, by the favor of the princes, divided among them. The emperor and the Catholic princes yielded, partly from inability to refuse their assent, and partly because they began to perceive the great advantage gained thereby by the temporal

princes; nor was it long before they imitated the example. The pope naturally made a violent protest against the secularization of church property. Innocent X. published a bull against the peace of Westphalia. The religious zeal of the Catholics had also cooled, notwithstanding the admonitions of the Jesuits; the princes, consequently, were solely governed by political ideas, which proved as detrimental to the papal cause after as religious enthusiasm had been during the Reformation. The authority of the pope, like that of the emperor, had faded to a shadow.

All secularized property reclaimed by the Catholics since the Normal year, 1624, consequently since the publication of the edict of restitution, was restored to the Protestants, and all Protestant subjects of Catholic princes were granted the free exercise of the religion professed by them in the said year, which, happening to have been that immediately after the battle on the White Mountain, and the emperor declaring that, at that period, his Reformed subjects no longer enjoyed liberty of conscience, the protests made by the emigrated Austrian Protestants remained without effect. The Silesian princes, still remaining in Liegnitz, Brieg, Wohlau, Oels, Munsterberg, and the city of Breslau, were allowed to remain Lutheran, and three privileged churches were, moreover, permitted at Glogau, Jauer, and Schweidnitz. The ancient system was strictly enforced throughout the rest of the hereditary provinces. The sole favor shown toward the Protestants was their transportation to Transylvania, where they were allowed the free exercise of their religion. The Jesuits were invested with unlimited authority in that portion of the German empire which remained Catholic after the peace of Westphalia. In 1652, an imperial edict enforced the profession of Catholicism, under pain of death, by every individual within the hereditary provinces.

The disputes between the Lutherans and the Reformers were also brought to a close, and the senseless law, by means of which the faith professed by the prince was imposed upon his subjects, was repealed. The violence with which the

doctors of theology defended their opinions, nevertheless, remained unabated.

Germany is reckoned by some to have lost one-half, by others, two-thirds of her entire population during the thirty years' war. In Saxony, nine hundred thousand men had fallen within two years; in Bohemia, the number of inhabitants, at the demise of Ferdinand II., before the last deplorable inroads made by Banner and Torstenson, had sunk to one-fourth. Augsburg, instead of eighty, had eighteen thousand inhabitants. Every province, every town throughout the empire, had suffered at an equal ratio, with the exception of the Tyrol, which had repulsed the enemy from her frontiers and had enjoyed the deepest peace during this period of horror. The country was completely impoverished. The working class had almost totally disappeared. The manufactories had been destroyed by fire, industry and commerce had passed into other hands. The products of Upper Germany were far inferior to those of Italy and Switzerland, those of Lower Germany to those of Holland and England. Immense provinces, once flourishing and populous, lay entirely waste and uninhabited, and were only by slow degrees repeopled by foreign emigrants or by soldiery. The original character and language of the inhabitants were, by this means, completely altered. In Franconia, which, owing to her central position, had been traversed by every party during the war, the misery and depopulation had reached to such a pitch that the Franconian Estates, with the assent of the ecclesiastical princes, abolished, A.D. 1650, the celibacy of the Catholic clergy, and permitted each man to marry two wives, on account of the numerical superiority of the women over the men. The last remains of political liberty had, during the war, also been snatched from the people; each of the Estates had been deprived of the whole of its material power. The nobility were compelled by necessity to enter the service of the princes, the citizens were impoverished and powerless, the peasantry had been utterly demoralized by military rule and reduced

to servitude. The provincial Estates, weakly guarded by the crown against the encroachments of the petty princes, were completely at the mercy of the more powerful of the petty sovereigns of Germany, and had universally sunk in importance. Science and art had fled from Germany, and pedantic ignorance had replaced the deep learning of her universities. The mother tongue had become adulterated by an incredible variety of Spanish, Italian, and French words, and the use of foreign words with German terminations was considered the highest mark of elegance. Various foreign modes of dress were also as generally adopted. Germany had lost all save her hopes for the future.

PART XIX

THE INTERNAL STATE OF GERMANY DURING THE REFORMATION

CCXII. *The Jesuits*

THE Reformation had, in its results, fallen far short of the anticipations cherished by the more lofty-minded among its promoters. The church, instead of being generally and thoroughly reformed, had been but partially freed in the north from her external shackles and remained internally almost as deeply as ever enslaved; the new church was, like her elder sister, a prey to superstition and fanaticism, and modern scholastic controversy, belief in witchcraft and ghosts and in involuntary works of grace, were, with the bloody persecution of heretics, the wretched results of a struggle that, for two hundred years, had drenched Europe in blood.

The Reformation had, notwithstanding, followed its natural course. Ideas, when novel, are necessarily slow and difficult in their realization, and many are the transitions, many the transformations, they are destined to undergo as time and events roll on.

The deeper and more lasting the reform in a nation's mode of thought and action, the more surely will it raise the most obstinate resistance, the more surely will it rouse every evil passion latent in the heart of man, and, according to an eternal and historical law, first lead, not to its prefixed aim, but to its opposite, to demoralization and tyranny instead of to civilization and liberty.

The south of Europe remained thoroughly Catholic, the north became completely Lutheran. Germany was both Catholic and Lutheran, a circumstance, politically speaking, greatly to her prejudice, but far from unfavorable to the progress of religion and civilization. The continued existence of the ancient church served a moral purpose, her errors offered a continual warning to her successor, while what was good in her gained time to overcome Protestant prejudice and to regain its influence; the vicinity of the Catholics, moreover, rendered the Protestants less liable to laxity and carelessness. The Catholic church still preserved her great and ancient idea of one universal Christian church, and, with justice, refused to sink the religion superior to all temporal power and comprehending all the nations of the earth to a slavish service in separate and petty provincial churches. She preserved the idea of the freedom and independence of the church, and, with justice, refused to envelop the anointed priests of the Lord of lords in the state-livery of a petty prince; and, finally, she preserved the idea of a magnificent soul-stirring service as that most worthy of the Deity, and, with justice, blamed the banishment of all that is striking and beautiful from the Protestant form of worship. The Protestant church, on the other hand, possessed equal advantages. She adopted as one of her fundamental principles the non-exercise of temporal power by a minister

of God, and, with justice, opposed the hierarchy. She required morality and piety in her priests, and, with justice, condemned the debauchery and immorality consequent upon celibacy. She demanded freedom of conscience and of thought in religious as well as all other matters, reason being not the least of the talents bestowed by God upon man to be used to his honor and glory, and reason being the only safeguard against the errors into which the church had so deeply fallen; and, with justice, she opposed scholasticism, by which reason was oppressed and nations were kept in dark ignorance.

The defection of the whole of Northern Europe dealt a severe blow to the external power of the hierarchy, but, at the same time, more firmly established its sway in the South, where the Catholics were driven by necessity to coalesce and to take extraordinary measures. The Reformation also exercised a powerful influence upon its opponents. The pope, it is true, did not relinquish the least of his pretensions,[1] but an end was put to the most glaring vices of the church. The justice of the reproach cast upon her by the Reformers was felt, and the clergy reformed themselves, or, at all events, externally practiced the most rigid morality. License was solely difficult to check among the lower clergy, men of more refined and elevated minds being, generally speaking, inclined for reform, and leaving behind them an ignorant scum, who were, nevertheless, consecrated for the priesthood, principally for the sake of giving occupants to the livings. Discipline was first reintroduced into the church by the Jesuits, who were, however, fully conscious of the influence of rough manners and speech, nay, even of that of the ridiculous upon the people; nor did the fact escape them of the disadvantage under which Lutheranism labored,

[1] The infamous bull ne Cœna Domini, which, anterior to the Reformation, condemned all those disagreeing with Rome, added the following anathema, under Urban VIII., during the thirty years' war: "Excommunicamus et anathematizamus ex parte Dei omnipotentis, etc. Quoscunque Hussitas, Wichlefistas, Lutheranos, Zwinglianos, Calvinistas, Ugonottos, etc. Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes ad universale futurum concilium appellantes. Item excommunicamus et anathematizamus omnes Piratas, cursarios et latrunculos maritimos." Lutherans, Calvinists, and pirates were thus classed together!

owing to its gloom and austerity. By a bold artifice they brought the laugh on their side and permitted the Capuchins[1] to attract their audience by jocose sermons, Capucinades or *Salbadereien;* so called from the opening words of their discourses, "*dixit Salvator noster.*" The toys with which the people, "like children of a larger growth," were amused, served a similar purpose; the spiritual shops, the small retail trade in pictures of Madonnas and saints, in consecrated amulets possessing the power of guarding the purchaser against every ill; the consecration of houses, tables, beds, kitchens, cellars, and stables, and the abuse of religion by its application in the most ludicrous or the most unholy matters. This sacred buffoonery was directed in the cities and towns by the Jesuits, in the country by the Capuchins, who were hence nicknamed the Jesuits' poodles. Every other monkish order was deemed inferior to them and merely vegetated in the rich monasteries. Not only the old Benedictines, who, through jealousy of the Jesuits, again applied themselves to learning, chiefly to the study of history, in contradistinction to the dogmatism and dialectics of their opponents, but also the strict Carthusians, who had completely renounced the world, were immeasurably wealthy, and the contrast between their marble palaces, their gold and diamonds, and their original vow of external poverty, afforded a significant proof of the unnatural position gained by the church.

Rome ruled over the church by means of the Jesuits and Capuchins. The council of Trent attempted the partial reestablishment of episcopal power in order to check the local and national opposition raised against Rome, but was unsuccessful, owing to the rapid progress of the Reformation. The bishops, consequently, sank to their former state of subordination, and all ecclesiastical affairs were henceforward solely controlled by the pope and his Jesuitical propaganda, who were, nevertheless, always compelled to secure the assent of

[1] So named, A.D. 1536, owing to a ridiculous dispute among the Franciscans, whether their holy founder, St. Francesco d'Assisi, wore a pointed capuchin or not. The party in favor of the latter formed themselves into a distinct order.

the princes by means of the nuncios accredited to the great Catholic courts; the bishops were simply subalterns, except when, at the same time, sovereign princes.

The church required expert champions, and therefore did not fail to oppose similar weapons to the mass of learning among the Protestants. The necessity of borrowing the weapons of her opponents and of intrusting the defence of her system, merely founded on unreasoning credulity, to reason, was, however, of itself productive of a great internal change. The Catholicism of the Jesuits, although externally unaltered, totally differed from that of the Middle Ages. Even in its exaggerations it had until now been nature, an overdrawn effort, an abuse of nature, but now it became art, a creation of Jesuitry. The people had formerly been left to their simplicity, of which it was perhaps excusable to take advantage, but now they had attained knowledge, and the Jesuits made use of art for the purpose of restoring ignorance. This formed the essential difference between former and modern times.

The Society of Jesus was founded by Ignatius Loyola, an enthusiastic Spaniard, for penitents, who, in those heretical times, ere long made it their business to confirm the faith of the wavering, and, consequently, became the tools of Rome. Benedict XIV. named them St. Peter's Janissaries. Their object was the restoration of unlimited hierarchical power, and they despised no means, however base, that might conduce to success, according to their celebrated maxim, "The end justifies the means." The society was intended to form an aristocracy of talent, whose office it was to guard the avenues of knowledge against the rest of mankind; and, as a precaution against individual treachery, no member was permitted to quit the order except to take the vows of a Carthusian, by which he bound himself to silence and solitude for the rest of his days. The heads of the society had unlimited power to remove, punish, and assassinate the members. The first vow taken by the initiated was that of unconditional obedience. A system of secret espionage per-

vaded the whole society; suspicion was condemnation; and the victim was sentenced to die in seclusion of starvation, as is expressly directed by Suarez, the great Jesuitical casuist. The members were divided into classes, the highest of which, the professors, elected the head or general of the whole order, who resided at Rome. Every province of the order was under the superintendence of a *pater provincialis*. The higher grades were kept strictly secret from the lower classes, who were merely the blind tools of the former. The pope conferred the most extensive privileges upon the order, which was empowered to interfere everywhere with the clergy and with all other orders.—And, in order to renew the times of the first apostles, the Jesuits sent out missionaries, who visited the most distant parts of the globe, for the purpose of converting the heathen and—of taking possession of the New World. They brought countless treasure into Europe, by means of which they placed themselves on a firm footing and acquired immense influence at a period when money was power.

The most celebrated of these missionaries was St. Xavier, who met with a martyr's death in India. Numbers of the Jesuits shared the same fate; many, in particular Germans, were distinguished for piety and learning and by their exploration of unknown countries. Among the European Jesuits were many fervent spirits actuated by the purest zeal; many simple and poetical minds unstained by hypocrisy, for instance, Balde; many deeply learned men, sincere lovers of truth. It would be unjust to pass a sweeping condemnation upon all the Jesuits. But the ruling spirit and the political effect of the order were immoral. The manner in which they denied the truths brought to light during the Reformation, sought to veil them by bringing to view the weaknesses and errors of Protestantism, or to suppress them by force, cannot be justified. The sophistry with which they still defended undeniable and long-sensible abuses was revolting to reason. The means by which they bent the powerful and wealthy to their purposes were often the most unholy.

One of the principal objects of the Jesuits was to replace the sale of dispensations, which had fallen into bad repute since the Reformation, and which was, moreover, almost indispensable to the church. This was done by means of the lax morality of the confessional. The more luxurious court life became, the more easily did the Jesuits forgive the sins committed by the aristocracy; in order to pacify the new conscientious scruples awakened by the Reformation, they became the advocates instead of the judges of sins, from every description of which they, by their casuistry, exculpated the offender. The Spanish Jesuits went furthest. The book of Escobar, the confessor's manual, passed through thirty-six editions, which were printed under the direction of the society and of the church. The church closed her eyes to any measures taken by the confessors, provided they made proselytes and gathered the stray sheep into the fold.

According to their casuistical system, all sins were exculpated: First, By the doctrine of *probabilismus*, that is, by the mildest of all possible interpretations. A says, "Such a sin is too horrible to be forgiven." B says, "Certainly; still it might thus be exculpated," etc., etc. Upon this C says, "According to A's opinion it cannot be forgiven; but it can be according to B's; and as an authority is all that is requisite, and the mildest point of view is admissible, I agree with B." Secondly, By the *directio intentionis*, that is, by the thoughts being occupied during the performance of a bad action with an innocent object. Thus, for instance, one might bribe another or accept of a bribe and, at the same time, be merely thinking of civility or gratitude. Thirdly, By the *reservatio mentalis*. It was allowable to take a false oath by voluntarily adding a mental reservation, as, for instance, a man might swear he had no money, although he had some, provided he mentally added "none to lend," etc. One might take an oath thus, "I swear (that I say here, although it is untrue) that I," etc., or, "I swear that I did not do that (a hundred years ago or a hundred miles hence)," or, "I swear to do so (if I cannot think of some-

thing else)." Fourthly, By *amphibologia*, or equivocation; for instance, one can deny anything touching the French by thinking of the word "gallus" as implying a cock instead of a Gaul. Fifthly, By the *intentio bona*, which was the principal thing. Strictly speaking, the only virtue required in a Jesuit was the promotion of the intentions of his order; whoever did this, merited eternal bliss, which was ever the case. The sins of the wealthy and powerful, whom it was to the interest of the order to treat with lenity, were excused on the ground of their having no *intentio mala*, that is, that the sin had not been committed for the sake of sinning. Thus, for instance, adultery was allowable in princes and nobles, because the marriage vow had been broken, not for the sake of committing adultery, but for the sake of another woman. Sixthly, and lastly, By *pia opera*, by good works; whoever honored the Jesuits, built colleges for them, gave them money, etc., whoever, in general, did good service to the Catholic church, diligently observed her ceremonies, purchased a dispensation, etc., was completely free from guilt.

Means such as these easily gained over the wealthy and the powerful. The Jesuits displayed the greatest activity at court, their maxim being to influence the flock through its leaders. They long governed all the Catholic courts of Europe, sometimes as confessors or tutors to the sovereign, sometimes as councillors and negotiators, the most talented men of their order especially devoting themselves to political matters; but their principal profession was that of a procurer; the secrets of the confessional rendered them masters of the weaknesses of the princes and princesses, whom they doubly flattered, by affording them opportunities to satisfy their inclinations, and, at the same time, giving them full absolution. Like the Lutheran court chaplains, they ever found means to secure the eternal salvation of the sovereign, whatever might have been his crimes. They even succeeded in creeping into Protestant courts for the purpose of converting the prince or of corrupting his councillors. It was in this manner they converted Queen Christina of Sweden, the

daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus. The most important projects of the Protestants have been frustrated by the secret intrigues of Jesuitical emissaries at the courts of the Protestant princes. The Jesuits also applied themselves to the study of medicine, by which means they got the life of the sovereign, in whose service they were, into their power, and many of the poisonings which took place at that time may be placed to their charge, no less than many of the assassinations, by which they removed the leaders of the opposite party. In 1614, the general of the order, Aquaviva, prohibited the public defence of regicide by the Jesuits, probably from fear of giving offence to their royal patrons. In order to work with greater security, they had secret members among the laity; princes were even enrolled in their ranks. These members were termed the short-robed Jesuits.

Education was almost entirely controlled by the Jesuits, who, by this means, secured the rising generation and methodically implanted in the people the spirit requisite for their purposes. The most fitting members of the order were placed in their schools or colleges. Every science was turned to suit their purposes. Everything that might prove prejudicial to themselves was carefully avoided in the schools and in their writings and all Protestant books were strictly prohibited. Although there were many deeply learned and shrewd-minded men among the Jesuits, the want of truth in their discourses rendered their schools far inferior to those of the Protestants; nor could the knowledge they acquired ever benefit the people, owing to their almost constant use of the Latin tongue, which was at first natural, the first Jesuits having been Spaniards or Italians, but which was afterward purposely persevered in with a view of preventing the students from studying German and, more particularly, Protestant works.

The inclination of the Jesuits to place themselves as an intermediate class between the priests and the laity, and, by this means, to govern both, is clearly discernible in their new forms. They avoided the old terms of "monastery, monks,"

etc., and termed themselves a "society"; their houses, "colleges and residences." In South America, in the province of Paraguay, they even usurped sovereign rule, but had the prudence to veil their model-monarchy, in imitation of which they one day hoped to rule the whole world, from the eyes of the curious.

It was the Jesuits who desecrated the spirit of the venerable mother-church while attempting to preserve her body, the tottering edifice of hierarchical tyranny. One of her heads had prophesied concerning them, "As lambs have we crept in, as wolves will we govern, as dogs shall we be driven out, and as eagles shall we return."

The most celebrated of the Jesuitical dogmatists of Germany, during the thirty years' war, were Gretser, self-named *malleus hæreticorum*, and Tanner. During the subsequent peace, the Bollandists gained great celebrity in the Netherlands by their *acta sanctorum*, a continuation, principally by Bolland, Papebrochius, etc., of the legends of the saints, formerly collected by the industrious Benedictines. The Annals, published by Baronius, up to 1607, in opposition to the Magdeburg Centuries of Flacius, were the greatest historical work of the Catholic church. Leisentritt Juliusburg, of Vienna, who produced a Catholic hymn-book in opposition to that of Luther, belonged to the peaceful Catholics.

Although Germans served the society of Jesuits, they never gained the upper hand in that order, the German character being antipathetical to its institutions, which were brought from Spain to Germany and ever remained foreign to the soil. The first opposition raised against the order in the Catholic church originated from a German, Jansen, A.D. 1638, in the university of Louvain, in the Spanish Netherlands. Jansen demanded sincerity in religious feeling instead of Jesuitical hypocrisy and external works; humility, piety, and fear of God, instead of the intolerable priestly pride of the Jesuits. His doctrine, Jansenism, spread principally throughout France, replacing all that had been lost by the suppression of the Huguenots; and, at the very time

that France was sending disease and incendiaries into Germany, did German genius nobly avenge its fatherland by imparting a benefit to its foe.

CCXIII. *The Lutheran and Reformed Churches*

The Reformers were as disunited as the Catholics were the contrary. The doctrine of the Lutherans, or Protestants, stood opposed to that of the Calvinists, the Reformers in the stricter sense, and these two great sects were again internally divided. The political distribution of the Reformers also affected the external constitution of the church, each principality or republic having its separate church.

The bonds of the universal church had thus been torn asunder, and separate provincial churches alone existed. The independence and liberty of the church were by this means destroyed, and, instead of the ancient hierarchy, which had asserted its superiority over or its equality with temporal power, there was merely a political church subservient to the temporal government of each province. The whole of the hierarchical power had passed into the hands of the princes. The prince inherited the ecclesiastical property, and, at the same time, exercised all spiritual power and jurisdiction. The ministry and the cure of souls were all that remained to the priest, whose nomination, removal, and even the doctrines he was to inculcate, depended upon the caprice of the prince. The curate was a salaried servant of the state. A number of parishes stood under an inspector, superintendent, or deacon, in imitation of the Catholic deaconries, all of whom were subordinate to a consistory, composed of spiritual and temporal members and forming a subdivision of the government. It was only in countries where the prince and his subjects differed in religion that the consistory maintained its independence. All temporal affairs, matrimonial causes alone excepted, were beyond its jurisdiction.—The poor country clergy were also generally dependent upon the nobility, who held the right of patronage, or the right of

nominating one of the candidates for the ministry, who was examined by the consistory, to his village church; a right simply consequent on that of property, the village belonging to the noble in the same manner as the country belonged to the prince. The poor candidates, consequently, competed for the favor of the nobility, and, as the depravity of the courts gradually spread downward, the Protestant clergy were exposed to the most unworthy treatment, serving as buffoons to their patrons or as convenient husbands for their cast-off mistresses.

The splendor of the Catholic church, her adoration of saints and relics, her ceremonies all too deeply calculated to impose upon the senses, had led the Lutherans and the Reformers into the opposite extreme in their inartificial, meagre, prosaic service, which merely consisted of listening to a sermon between bare walls, and of singing in chorus, which generally degenerated to a screaming sound little in harmony with the notes of the organ, the whole congregation, whether able to sing or not, joining in chorus. The sermon, the word of God, was the main point, and, until abused by hypocrisy, modern scholasticism, and oratory, had an extraordinary influence over the multitude. The Lutherans retained a greater degree of solemnity in their church service than the Reformers.

The Reformed churches were at first strictly democratic. The clergy were not even distinguished by their attire from the rest of the community; nor was it until the aristocracy gradually rose to power, as in Switzerland and Holland, that the Reformed churches also assumed an aristocratic appearance. In strictness of morals the Reformed maintained her superiority over the Lutheran church. At the present day, as in the sixteenth century, when church going was considered in Switzerland, more particularly in Zurich, as an indispensable duty, the Sabbath is observed at Zurich with a strictness unknown elsewhere, except in North America, owing to a similar reason, religion and morality being more rigidly practiced by the people in a self-controlled republic

than they ever can be under a monarchy. Berne first complained of the servility, and of the consequent laxity of the morals, of the clergy dependent upon the upper classes.

The theological uncertainty displayed in the composition of the Interim, the compliance of Melancthon, and, more particularly, that of Agricola, the separation of the strict Lutherans from the Swiss, and, in Holland, that of the strict Calvinists from the Arminians, have already been alluded to. The controversial writings of these sects and those of the Jesuits henceforth chiefly occupied the theological press, swelling the bombast of ancient scholasticism, and uniting indescribable coarseness and brutality with expressions of the most envenomed hate. Pamphlets from every corner of Germany disputed, like an immense flock of ravens over a carcass, over the rotten remains of the church, and the scholastics had no sooner triumphed over the anabaptistical dilettanti than they fell at strife among themselves. The first and most important point was to replace the inexhaustible means of grace possessed by the ancient church with something offering an equal guarantee to the people, whom former habits and the promulgation of fresh doctrines had rendered anxious for the salvation of their souls. The text of the Bible was open to various interpretations, and it was on all sides unanimously resolved that the cheap dispensation should be replaced by a justification of the easiest description. The mode by which this justification was to be obtained, however, produced a furious dispute. Luther and Flacius, who went still further, justified by blind faith in the word of God, independent of all good works; nay, Flacius even condemned virtue without faith and justified every sinner who believed. Agricola and Osiander admitted the eternal grace of God by which man was justified and rendered, like Christ, devoid of sin. Calvin taught the doctrine of predestination, according to which certain individuals were from their birth destined to future bliss. On no side was means for salvation wanting. These theological controversies being, moreover, without but practical influence on the people or on public morals,

again degenerated to mere scholastic cavils. The preponderance of justifying effect, which, independent of all good works and of morality, was by some ascribed to faith, by others to grace, might have endangered public morals, had not the people, with their sound sense, in spite of the absurdities inculcated by the theologians, chiefly comprehended the Reformation as a reform in their moral and social existence, and had recourse to that blessed gift, the German Bible, which even the theology of the schools was unable to pervert.

Modern Protestant scholasticism was necessarily opposed by modern mysticism. Pious and high-minded men were naturally driven to seek for salvation elsewhere than in verbal disputations. The gentle-minded Schwenkfeld had, even in Luther's time, taught that Christianity consisted not in controversy, but in purity of life and love of one's neighbor. John Arnd, who, toward the close of the sixteenth century, followed in Tauler's steps and led his hearers from controversy to devotion, met with less opposition on account of his not being the founder of any particular system; but Jacob Bœhme, the shoemaker of Gœrlitz, who, about the same time, irradiated Germany with his ideas, became the object of the bitter hatred and persecution of the Lutheran clergy. His "Rising Morn" broke with redoubled effulgence through the mists of ignorance and arrogance. When speaking of the controversies of his times, he says, "After the internal church, which he solely acknowledged, the Turkish appeared to him the most reasonable, as it had only one god and a moral code without dispensation; the next best was the strong church (that of Rome), with which something might still be done; but the most corrupt of all was the church of disputants (the Lutheran)."

CCXIV. *The Empire—The Princes and the Nobility*

THE emperor's title of "augmenter of the empire" had become a mockery, an empty sound. The Swiss and Dutch had asserted their independence, the Netherlands had been

ceded to Spain, part of Lorraine and Alsace to France, part of Lower Saxony to Denmark, Pomerania to Sweden. Internally, the empire was torn and hung but loosely together, her constitution was a *monstrum reipublicæ*. The imperial diet was divided into three colleges or benches, those of the electors, princes, and cities. The elector of Mayence, as arch-chancellor of the empire, held the presidency, whenever the emperor was not present in person, and the secretaries received all petitions, etc. The electoral princes decided all questions by vote, of which each had one. The bench of princes was subdivided into two colleges, one of which consisted of the spiritual and temporal princes, who were not electors, the other of prelates (abbots) and counts. The spiritual princes were those who as princes of the empire were independent in temporal matters of the other princes. During the gradual decay of the ancient duchies, the subordinate bishops and even some of the abbots declared themselves independent, and it was only in the Habsburg-Burgundian hereditary province that they still remained subordinate to the princes; the powerful archbishops and bishops of Prague, Breslau, Olmutz, and the United Netherlands were, consequently, simply Austrian subjects, and were unrepresented in the diet. The numbers of the spiritual princes of the empire had been greatly thinned by the Reformation on account of the defalcation of the majority of those of Northern Germany. Of the temporal princes every house had a vote, and disputes often arose between the different lines, each of which claimed that right, or on account of fresh houses raised to the dignity of prince. The numerous princes created by Ferdinand II. of Austria in imitation of the Spanish grandees were refused admission to the bench occupied by the houses of more ancient date. The prelates were divided into two benches, the Swabian and Rhenish, each of which possessed but a single vote. The counts were divided into two benches, the Swabian and Wetterauan, to which were, in 1640, added the Franconian, and, in 1655, the Westphalian, and here again each bench, not each in-

dividual, possessed one vote. In the same manner, since 1474, the college of the cities consisted of two benches, each of which had one vote, the Rhenish, over which Cologne, and the Swabian, over which Ratisbon, presided. The barons of the empire, although not represented in the diet, were recognized as an Estate of the empire, and consisted of three circles, the Swabian, Franconian, and Rhenish, controlled by a directory selected from among themselves. The diet was, moreover, collectively divided into two bodies, according to the difference of religion, the *corpus Catholicorum* and the *corpus Evangelicorum*. Every question, however, naturally depended upon the great princes, whose separate votes always gave them the majority. The taxes and levy of troops were divided among the circles, each of which had a captain, generally the most powerful prince within its limits. The emperor, even in his character as president over the imperial chamber, the highest court of justice for the whole of the German people, and over the imperial aulic council, the highest court of justice for the princes, was dependent upon the voices of the princes, and was unable to execute any sentence he might venture to pronounce in condemnation of one of their number. The same was the case in regard to the appropriation of feofs lapsed to the crown. The most distant claims were asserted in defiance of the emperor, the whole of whose authority was limited to the grant of titles, the protection of the less powerful among the Estates, and the promotion of commerce. The powerful princes pursued a perfectly independent course.

In this manner, the diets naturally declined. Affairs of importance were transacted by writing or by diplomatic means through ambassadors between the potentates of the empire, and the weak were either compelled to yield, or, by their dissent, multiplied the negotiations without exercising any decisive influence over them. The princes rarely appeared in person at the diet, and their ambassadors, as well as the city deputies, while engaged in informing their master or their constituents of the progress of the question and in awaiting

instructions, generally allowed the moment for action to slip by. This procrastination, however, suited the Estates, who, from selfishness or from jealousy of the house of Habsburg, ever refused to assist the crown, however urgent the demand. Sultan Suleiman II. justly remarked, "The Germans deliberate, I act!"

The election of the emperor and his coronation, meanwhile, still retained much of their ancient solemnity and splendor, but Aix-la-Chapelle had gradually sunk into oblivion. Both ceremonies now took place at Frankfort on the Maine, whither the regalia, kept at Nuremberg, were regularly carried. These consisted, first, of sacred relics, a piece of the holy cross, a thorn from the Saviour's crown, St. Maurice's sword, a link of St. Paul's chain, etc. Secondly, of the insignia of the empire, the massive golden crown, weighing fourteen pounds, of Charlemagne, set with rough diamonds, the golden ball, sceptre, and sword of that great monarch, the imperial mantle and robes, the priestly stole and the rings. The election over, a peal of bells ushered in the coronation day; the emperor and all the princes assembled in the Römer and proceeded thence on horseback to the cathedral, where, mass having been read, the elector of Mayence rose as first bishop and arch-chancellor of the empire, and, staff in hand, demanded of the emperor, "Vis s. fidem catholicam servare?" to which he replied, "Volo," and took the oath on the gospel. Mayence then asked the electors "whether they recognized the elected as emperor?" to which they with one accord replied, "Fiat." The emperor then took his seat, and was anointed by Mayence—while Brandenburg held the vessel and assisted in half disrobing the emperor—on the crown of the head, the breast, the neck, the shoulder, the arm, the wrist, and the flat of the hand; after which he was attired in the robes of Charlemagne, and the ceremony was concluded in front of the altar by Mayence, assisted by Cologne and Treves. The emperor, adorned with the crown, then mounted the throne, the hymn of St. Ambrose being meanwhile chanted, and

performed his first act as emperor by bestowing the honor of knighthood with the sword of Charlemagne, usually on a member of the family of Dalberg of Rhenish Franconia, which became so customary that the herald demanded, "Is no Dalberg here?" The emperor headed the procession on foot back to the Romer. Cloths of purple were spread on the way and afterward given to the people. The banquet was spread in the Romer. The emperor and (when there happened to be one) the Roman king sat alone at a table six feet high, the princes below, the empress on one side three feet lower than the emperor. The electoral princes performed their offices. Bohemia, the imperial cupbearer, rode to a fountain of wine and bore the first glass to the emperor; Pfalz rode to an ox roasting whole, and carved the first slice for the emperor; Saxony rode up to his horse's belly into a heap of oats and filled a measure for his lord; and, lastly, Brandenburg rode to a fountain and filled the silver ewer. The wine, ox, oats, and imperial banquet, with all the dishes and vessels, were, in conclusion, given up to the people.

According to the imperial register, A.D. 1521, under Charles V., the imperial Estates were divided as follows: 1st, Circle of Austria. Archduke of Austria (Habsburg). Bishops of Trent, Brixen, Gurk, Sekau, Lavant. 2d, Circle of Burgundy. Duke of Burgundy (Habsburg). 3d, Circle of the Lower Rhine. Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, Treves, and the Rhenish Pfalzgraf, of the house of Wittelsbach, all four electoral princes. Also the city of Gelnhausen. 4th, Circle of Franconia. Bishops of Bamberg, Wurzburg, and Eichstadt. The master of the Teutonic order of Mergentheim. The Margraves of Brandenburg at Anspach, Baireuth, Culmbach (formerly Burgraves of Nuremberg), of the house of Hohenzollern. The Counts of Hohenlohe, Erbach, and other petty nobles. The cities of Nuremberg, Windsheim, Weissenburg, Rotenburg, Schweinfurt. 5th, Circle of Swabia. Bishops of Augsburg, Constance, Coire. Abbots of Kempten, Reichenau, St. Gall, Weingarten, and numerous others. Duke of Wurtemberg,

Margrave of Baden, Counts von Ettingen, Furstenberg, Montfort, Eberstein, Lœwenstein, Helfenstein, etc. Innumerable petty nobles. Cities: Augsburg, Ulm, Kempten, Leutkirch, Wangen, Ravensberg, Ueberlingen, Pfullendorf, Schaffhausen, Esslingen, Weil, Wimpfen, Dunkelsbuhl, Gruningen, Nœrdlingen, Buchau, Gengenbach, Rotweil, Kaufbeuren, Memmingen, Biberach, Isny, Lindau, Buchhorn, Constance, St. Gall, Reutlingen, Gmund, Heilbronn, Halle, Bopfingen, Aalen, Donauwœrth, Offenburg, Zell. 6th, Circle of Bavaria. Archbishop of Salzburg. Bishops of Passau, Freising, Ratisbon, Kemsen (Chiemsee). Duke of Bavaria and Pfalzgraf of Neuburg, of the house of Wittelsbach. Landgrave of Leuchtenberg (shortly afterward extinct), Count von Ortenberg, and some others of lesser note. The city of Ratisbon. 7th, The circle of the Upper Rhine. Bishops of Worms, Strasburg, Besançon, Geneva, Metz, Verdun, Spires, Basel, Sion, Lausanne, Toul. Princely abbots of Fulda, Hirschfeld, and numerous others of lesser note. Duke of Lorraine and of Savoy, Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Nassau, Rheingrave von Salm, Counts von Bitsch, Hanau, Leiningen, Falkenstein, Isenburg, Solms, Wittgenstein, Waldeck, etc. Cities: Basel, Colmar, Turkheim, Ober Ebenheim, Roszheim, Hagenau, Landau, Worms, Friedeburg, Metz, Verdun, Besançon, Gailhausen, Muhlhausen, Kaisersberg, Munster (in the Georgenthal), Strasburg, Schlettstadt, Weissenburg, Spires, Frankfort, Wetzlar, Toul, Saarbruck. 8th, Circle of Westphalia. Bishops of Paderborn, Utrecht, Cammerich, Verdun, Liege, Munster, Osnabruck, Minden. Abbots of Corvey, Stablo, etc. Abbesses of Hervorden, Essen, etc. Dukes of Juliers and Berg, Cleves and Mark. Counts von Oldenburg, Bentheim, Wied, Manderscheid, Lippe, Mœrs, etc. Cities: Cologne, Wesel, Cammerich, Soest, Hervorden, Warberg, Verdun, Aix-la-Chapelle, Deubern, Dortmund, Duisburg, Bragkel, Lengad. 9th, Circle of Upper Saxony. Elector of Saxony, of the house of Wettin. Elector of Brandenburg, of the house of Hohenzollern. The master of the Teutonic order in Prussia, and the land-

master in Livonia. Bishops of Misnia, Merseburg, Naumburg, Brandenburg, Havelberg, Lebus, Camin; abbess of Quedlinburg, abbot of Saalfeld, Wolkenried, etc. Dukes of Saxon-Thuringia (the Albertine line of the house of Wettin). Dukes of Pomerania, princes of Anhalt, Counts von Mansfeld, Schwarzburg, Stolberg, Hohenstein, Gleichen, etc. Cities: Dantzig, Elbing, Wolkenried. 10th, Circle of Lower Saxony. Archbishops of Magdeburg and Bremen. Bishops of Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Lubeck, Schwerin, Ratzeburg, Schleswig. Dukes of Holstein (king of Denmark, of the house of Oldenburg), Brunswick (of the house of Guelph), Saxon-Lauenburg (of the house of Anhalt), and Mecklenburg. Cities: Lubeck, Hamburg, Gœttingen, Goslar, Nordhausen, Muhlhausen, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Brunswick, Magdeburg, Lemgo, Erfurt, Limburg.

Each of the Estates suffered by the religious war, the princes alone gained thereby. The aristocracy and the cities sank in power and independence, while the power of the princely houses rose by the establishment of the right of primogeniture. In 1621, the indivisibility of the hereditary provinces of the house of Habsburg was passed into a law; the house of Wittelsbach in Bavaria had done the same in 1545, but too late, the other branch having already fixed itself in the Pfalz, where the division of the family possessions still continued.

The electoral house lost the Upper Pfalz to Bavaria; the collateral line of Pfalz-Neuburg divided the Cleve inheritance with Brandenburg, and, in 1666, came into the actual possession of Berg and Juliers; in 1683, this line replaced the extinct electoral house. The other collateral line, Pfalz-Birkenfeld, surviving the rest of the Wittelsbacher, came into sole possession of the whole of the Bavarian inheritance. A descendant of this line, Charles Gustavus, mounted the throne of Sweden, A.D. 1654.—The house of Hohenzollern was also divided into the Brandenburg and Franconian lines, the house of Wettin into those of Saxony and Thuringia, the house of Guelph into those of Luneburg

and Wolfenbuttel. Hesse, Baden, Mecklenburg, and Anhalt were also subdivided. Wurtemberg formed a single exception among the Protestant houses and established the right of primogeniture at a much earlier period. The right of primogeniture in the Catholic reigning families and the subdivision of the possessions of the Protestant princes exercised a great influence over the war of religion. The subdivision of the possessions of the petty princes, Hohenlohe, Waldburg, Schwarzburg, Reuss, Lippe, etc., also contributed to diminish the little power they possessed.

The demoralization engendered by this subdivision and by the family disputes to which it gave rise, and which were, moreover, fed by the religious war and by the sovereignty usurped by the princes independent of both emperor and pope, and pervading most of the courts of Germany, has been already mentioned. The ancient sturdiness of the German character was long perceptible in the sports of the field, nor was it until vice had gradually sapped both mental and physical vigor that more effeminate amusements were introduced in their stead, that the ancient tournament yielded to the childish sport of running at the ring, and shallow wits were salaried for the entertainment of the great. Fools, misshapen dwarfs, moors, apes, etc., became court appendages. Immoderate drinking was at first the fashionable vice among the princes, whose successors, enervated both in mind and body, brought license on the throne. The nobles, degenerated by court life, quitted their fastnesses, whose walls no longer resisted the artillery of the besieger, threw off their armor, that no longer protected them from the bullet, and exchanged their broad battle-swords for the pretty toy worn by the courtier. Here and there, however, might still be found a noble man of the old school living on his estate, but the country nobility were regarded as far beneath the courtly aristocracy. The ancient and free-spirited nobility in the hereditary provinces had been almost entirely exterminated by war, the headsman's axe, and emigration, and had been replaced by proselytes and foreign adventurers, on

whom the emperor had bestowed the titles of princes and counts with rich estates, in order to form a fresh nobility on the model of the Spanish grandees, in other words, a splendid household, from which the higher officers, both civil and military, were selected. The lower nobility, almost entirely expatriated, were replaced by a species of Hidalgo or noble by patent; titles being by the court lavished on or sold to its civic followers. The example given by Austria was followed by the other German courts, and the families of ancient nobility that still remained were compelled to admit very unworthy subjects, such as the families of favored mistresses, etc., into their ranks. The ancient families, disgusted at this innovation, took refuge in pride of ancestry, to which those least distinguished by personal qualities the more obstinately clung. Duelling was also a noble prerogative.

The princes had reduced the clergy to submission by the Reformation, the nobility by modern military tactics, the cities by the decay of commerce, and the peasantry in the peasant war. The wretched results of the thirty years' war utterly annihilated the ancient power of the provincial Estates, which were either entirely dissolved or rendered a blind tool of the government. Wurtemberg, the sole exception, remained a miniature constitutional England in the heart of enslaved Germany.—The governments were formed on the French model. Up to this period, every German tribe had from the earliest times participated in the government. France first offered the example of a despotic monarchy modelled on that of ancient Rome and Greece under the emperors, which now served as a pattern to the princes of Germany. The prince, either alone in his cabinet or aided by his chancellor and privy councillors, deliberated over all affairs of state. His will was law. The provinces were governed by officers of the crown, who imposed and levied taxes. The chambers, by which the revenue and expenses of the state were controlled, were the most important care of the government. Funds were required for the maintenance of the splendor of the court; funds were required by

the cabinet for the maintenance of ambassadors, for purposes of bribery and corruption at foreign courts, etc. Funds were required by the government for the maintenance of an army during war and peace, for the foundation of public institutions, etc. Every imaginable means of raising these necessary funds was consequently resorted to. The demesnes of the sovereign, confiscated church property, or lapsed fiefs were, like a large country estate, turned to the profit of the crown. The coinage, tolls, and mines were applied to the same purpose. Fresh royal dues were created by the sale of privileges, titles, offices, and even justice, or by the reservation of immense monopolies. While the revenue and prerogatives of the chambers were by these means extended, the people were oppressed with heavy taxes. The wealth possessed by the subject was estimated by the government as a capital, in point of fact, belonging to the sovereign, and lent by him to his subjects at an arbitrary percentage.

The general German and imperial courts of justice fell, like the local and private courts, into disuse, and were replaced by the provincial courts of the different principalities. The Roman law, which had long been in use, became general, and formed the substratum of all provincial law. All laws of German origin had fallen into contempt. The popular courts of justice, consequently, fell into disuse. Neither the commune, nor the elected judge, nor the Feme, the last free popular court of justice, could any longer hold a tribunal. The whole of the judicial power fell into the hands of the princes, who committed it to one particular class, the lawyers, who were instructed in the universities in the Roman law and appointed as judges and salaried by the prince. The people, ignorant of the Roman law, were compelled to intrust their complaints and defence before the court to another especial class, connected with the law, that of the advocates, who aided the judges in deceiving their clients as interest or caprice prompted. Decisions were secret. The Feme had been dissolved, but its worst feature, secrecy, was retained. Lawsuits were conducted in writing, for the sake of greater ex-

actitude, and, in case of appeal, for the delivery of documents to the higher courts. These written proceedings naturally required time, and the procrastination of a decision was advantageous to both judge and advocate, all costs being paid by the contending parties. This was the worst of all. Justice was no longer dispensed gratis. The poor were compelled to purchase their right, and the lawyers enriched themselves at their expense. People now frequently applied for justice to neutral judges, presumed to be masters of their profession and impartial, and who were to be found among the professors in the universities, to whom important suits were referred for decision. The ancient bench of justices at Leipzig, filled by the learned professors of that university, was raised in this manner to the dignity of a higher court of appeal. The note to which it attained may be judged from the fact that the greatest lawyer of those times, Benedict Carpzow, who sat on the Leipzig bench from 1620 to 1666, decided no less than twenty thousand capital sentences.

The barbarous and dishonoring punishments inflicted by the degenerate Romans on their slaves were still enforced upon the free-born German. The punishment of the rack or torture was taken from the Roman law. The criminal code of Charles V., the Carolina, was an abridgment of all these barbarous and wicked innovations. Every township and provincial court had its torture-chamber, where the accused was racked in all his limbs, thumb-screwed, pricked under his nails, burned with boiling lead, oil, or vitriol, until he confessed. The innocent, unable to bear the horrible torture, consequently often confessed the crimes with which they were charged and were condemned to death. Every township and court had also its place of execution. Wherever a hill commanding a lovely prospect rose in the vicinity of a town, its summit was crowned with a gallows and a wheel and covered with the bones of victims. The simple punishment of death no longer satisfied the pampered appetite of the criminal judge. Torture was formed into a system, and the horrors practiced by the ancient tyrants of

Persia and of Rome, by the American savage in his warlike fanaticism, were, in cold blood, legalized by the lawyers throughout Germany. The chopping off of hands, the cutting out of tongues, blinding, pinching with red-hot tongs, cutting slices out of the back, tearing out the heart, impaling, wrenching off limb by limb with the iron wheel, quartering with four horses or with oxen in order to lengthen the torture, modified the simplicity of beheading, hanging, and burning. A species of tyrannical wit was sometimes displayed in the mode of punishment. In Switzerland, bigamy was punished by the criminal being cut in two, and one half of his person being given to each of his wives. In Augsburg, the clergy were enclosed in iron cages and hung as singing birds on the church towers, where they were left to perish with hunger; as grievous crimes could not be left unpunished, and the temporal power could inflict no corporal punishment on a member of the church. Jewish thieves were hanged by the legs between two dogs. Poachers were chained to the stag, which was turned loose into the woods, or were sewn into a deerskin and thrown to the dogs. In the white tower at Cologne, bread was hung high above the heads of the criminals, who were thus compelled either to break their necks by clambering up to it, or to die of hunger; etc., etc.

The prince chiefly maintained his authority by means of his mercenaries. Formerly the whole of the population bore arms, afterward only the feudal nobility and the citizens; the power was therefore formerly in the hands of the citizens, and afterward in those of the nobility and citizens, who were in their turn ere long compelled to cede their arms to the soldiery and their power to the princes, the soldiers' paymasters. After the invention of gunpowder, of heavy artillery, the consequent introduction of the new method of carrying on sieges, and of modern tactics, a strong arm and a brave heart no longer guaranteed success in the battlefield, but the experience and discipline of regular troops. Corps consequently formed under experienced leaders, which, like

the armed societies of the ancient Germans, were governed by their own laws and made war their profession. They had no fixed abode, only for a certain time serving those who gave them highest pay; after which they were free, and would not infrequently enroll themselves beneath the standard of their late opponent. They regarded war as a means of livelihood, without regard to its cause or object. They had their private treasury, their private tribunal that passed sentence of life or death, and, with their women and children, formed a petty migratory force that partly recruited itself, their children and the boys that attached themselves to them becoming in their turn soldiers. The notorious Black Guard, which, for almost a century, maintained its full numbers and served under almost every prince in Europe, was a band of this description. On the gradual decay of the power of the aristocracy and of the cities, and on the opening of the Reformation, when the mass throughout Germany was in a state of strong fermentation, the mercenary, particularly the foreign, troops, afforded a convenient means to the princes for keeping their refractory Estates or rebellious subjects in check and the people under subjection. They were consequently retained during peace as body-guards and household troops and as garrisons in the fortresses formerly defended by the nobles or the citizens. This foreign soldiery brought foreign terms into use during the thirty years' war. The various troops were formed into companies under a captain, a certain number of which composed a regiment, commanded by a colonel. Several of these regiments were again commanded by a general, and the generals were, in large armies, in their turn subordinate to the field-marshal or generalissimo. The interior economy of the army, the court-martial, etc., also required a crowd of especial officers, such as master of the ordnance, quartermaster-general, provost-marshal, etc., while its spiritual wants were supplied by military chaplains and a chaplain-general.

The first mercenaries were Swiss, and merely consisted of

infantry that generally advanced to the attack in a wedge, armed with jagged clubs (morning stars), and with extremely broad, double-handed swords. They were succeeded by the German lancers, who bore immensely long pikes, at one end of which was a hatchet (halberds, partisans). To these were shortly afterward associated the arquebusiers, who used the first guns, which, on account of their weight, were rested upon forks, for the purpose of taking aim. The Spanish arquebusiers were the most celebrated. Gustavus Adolphus introduced a lighter gun, the musket, which has ever since been used by the infantry. The Croatians in the imperial armies first distinguished themselves as light infantry for skirmishing and for harassing the advanced guard and the rear flanks of the enemy. In the cavalry, the ancient knights and squires were succeeded by the troopers or cuirassiers, who still retained the armor and helmet. The dragoons, without armor, with a hat instead of a helmet, armed with the carbine, a species of light cavalry, that could also serve on foot, were first introduced by Mansfeld and were more systematically organized by Gustavus Adolphus. To these were finally added a body of light cavalry for outpost duty and skirmishing, the Hungarian Hussars and the Polish Cossacks in the imperial army.—The artillery at first bore great affinity to the gigantic and awkward catapult. The first light artillery was introduced by Gustavus Adolphus. Maurice, Prince of Orange, brought the art of siege to greater perfection. The first routine in tactics was practiced by the Swiss, who also introduced the square, as affording the best protection to infantry against the cavalry. Gustavus Adolphus laid at first great, perhaps too great, weight on military science, and in his tactics decidedly favored attacks on the enemy's flanks.

CCXV. *The Citizens and the Peasantry*

THE fourteenth century was the heroic age of the cities; in the fifteenth, they reached the summit of their power, but

had already become disunited and slothful; in the sixteenth, they suffered by religious factions, by the attacks of the princes, and by the decrease of commerce, which passed principally into the hands of the Dutch and English; the thirty years' war completed their ruin. The confederated cities of the Rhine and Upper Germany were included in the newly-constituted circles, although still regarded as free imperial cities; the single cities fell without exception to decay, while those of lesser importance became objects of ridicule with the imperial eagle over their low gates and with their petty corporations. The great cities on the Rhine, Mayence and Cologne, fell under the dominion of their ecclesiastical princes, which not a little contributed to the rise of the free imperial city of Frankfort on the Maine. Of the Hanse towns, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck alone retained their ancient independence; the rest fell, like Brunswick, partially, or, like Magdeburg, Wismar, and Stralsund, wholly under the princes of the North. In Central Germany, Nuremberg maintained her freedom against the petty princes of Franconia; Leipzig rose to prosperity through the favor of the elector of Saxony, who rendered her the seat of a general fair for the whole empire; and Ratisbon enjoyed a respectable neutrality as the principal scene of diplomatic affairs. In Brandenburg, Saxony, Bavaria, and Austria, however, all the cities, Vienna, Prague, Breslau, Berlin (the ancient frontier towns), submitted, after a violent struggle, to the respective sovereigns of those countries. Bavaria even made an old imperial free town, Donauwœrth, one of her provincial cities.—Besides these towns of ancient date, there sprang up many others as the power of the princes increased, particularly princely residences and collegiate towns.

In the cities, the spirit of the government changed from democratic to aristocratic. The great commotions in the communes terminated in silent submission. In some of the cities of Southern Germany the ancient burgess families regained their former influence; in others, a new hereditary aristocracy, consisting of members of the town council,

sprang from the ruling corporations. The revolution in the government of the cities of Northern Germany, although violent, had taken place at a later period, in the sixteenth century, than in those of the South, and had been merely transient in its effects. In all the Hanse towns, the more influential among the burgher families had never raised a broad line of demarcation, as town-nobility, between themselves and the rest of the citizens, but had admitted among their ranks all the families whom wealth or merit gradually raised to distinction, and, by this means, gained an accession of wealth and talent, against which the lower classes, the workmen, vainly strove, the necessity of again having recourse to commerce and trade for the purpose of gaining a livelihood ever replacing the government in the hands of the merchants. The municipal government, once so powerful, had, nevertheless, fallen in the Hanse towns as it had everywhere else. Instead of bold speculations, the maintenance of prerogatives and of family wealth were alone thought of, and gave rise to the practice, bad even from a physical point of view, of intermarriage between near of kin. In Spires, which, anterior to the thirty years' war, numbered thirty thousand inhabitants, such timidity prevailed that even the ancient burgher families were divided into three degrees, according to the antiquity of their races, and, with pedantic jealousy, looked with scorn upon each other and the rest of the citizens. The denization of rising families or of individuals was by this means rendered difficult, and any participation in the municipal government utterly impossible. The free, proud spirit of the citizens became petty and enslaved, and the burgher families aped, not the nobility, as their fathers had done before them, but the servile dependents of the court. They assumed proud titles, decorated themselves with chains and orders, played the diplomatist, and, notwithstanding their wise and dignified demeanor, were ever overreached or bribed.

Notwithstanding the decline of commerce, the cities continued for some time wealthy and prosperous, and civic

luxury rose to its height at the moment when civil power first showed symptoms of decay. The citizens rested on their laurels; the children revelled in the wealth gained by their parents in the sweat of their brows. The love of luxury was strengthened by the example of the courts and by the immense quantities of colonial products poured into Europe. The wealthy citizens vied with the courtiers, nay, with the prince himself, in splendor. Fugger of Augsburg, so honorably mentioned by Charles V., was raised to the dignity of count and afterward to that of prince. Nor was opulence simply confined to individuals; the excellent administration of the town property and the public spirit of the corporations rendered prosperity general. But the citizens were enervated by luxury, and the hand that had wielded the sword now seized the bowl. Beer was at that time one of the principal productions of Northern Germany, and Magdeburg, Eimbeck, Zerbst, Goslar, Brunswick, Hamburg, and Bremen were famous for their immense breweries.[1] Several of the princes even preferred it to wine. It afforded a wholesome beverage to the people, whom it guaranteed from the intoxicating fumes of brandy. How, may we ask, did Northern Germany lose this important branch of her industry and allow her population to be enervated with brandy, while Bavaria now solely maintains the reputation of the German breweries?—The citizens also vied with the nobility in magnificence of apparel. Fantastical modes, long-pointed shoes, immensely wide sleeves and hose, etc., which drew the public animadversions of the clergy, became general; but wigs, the most unnatural of all, did not come into fashion until after the thirty years' war. Since the council of Constance, theatrical performances, particularly during the carnival and the fairs, also came into vogue, under the name of farces or mummeries, the actors being (*vermummt*)

[1] Berckenmeyer, in his antiquarian curiosities, gives the names of the different brews of Northern Germany, as, for instance, "Brunswick Mumme, Halberstadt Breyhan, Goslar Gose, Breslau Scheps, Halle Puff, Wittenberg Cuckoo, Leipzig Rastrum, Zerbst Würze, Osnabrück Buse, Münster Koite, Kiel Witte, Colberg Black."

masked. Fun and frolic characterized the popular festivals. Each guild had its Hanswurst (Jack-pudding) in imitation of the prince's jester, and, in the excess of their folly, they executed fantastical chef-d'œuvres, built gigantic tuns, like that at Heidelberg, founded enormous bells, like that at Erfurt, made gigantic sausages and loaves to match, etc.

Merely a shadow of the mad joviality of the citizens remained after the thirty years' war.

The cities had gradually gained in circumference. The danger to which they were continually exposed had caused the citizens to collect within the walls; hence the narrow streets and the tall, dark houses in the old part of the towns. The opulent citizens, nevertheless, nobly expended their wealth in the foundation of establishments for the public benefit, such as schools, libraries, hospitals, poorhouses, hotels, etc. The most magnificent of these establishments was erected in the sixteenth century, at Augsburg, by Fugger, who built upward of a hundred cottages in the suburb of St. Jacob's, as refuges for the poor; it was not, however, until the ensuing century that sanitary establishments and poorhouses were brought to perfection in Holland. The example offered in this respect by the free towns and republics had a beneficial influence upon the states. Luxury with her train of concomitant evils had, meanwhile, rendered an immoderate care of health necessary, and sent crowds to seek it at the baths of Germany, those abodes of license and quackery.

The Jews were still confined to the Jewries or Jews' quarters, where they were locked in at nightfall; and, although their lives were no longer unprotected by the laws, they were the objects of public contumely, which, however, did not hinder them from enriching themselves by usury at the expense of the Christians. The well-meant attempt made by Christopher the Wise, duke of Wurtemberg, to banish the Jews from the Roman empire as public nuisances, as the secret foes to the nationality and religion of Germany, as traitors ever on the watch to betray the empire to the for-

eigner, as crafty and demoralizing speculators on the improvidence, weaknesses, and vices of the Christians, failed, principally on account of the countenance at that time afforded to the Jews by some of the princes, who transacted business with them on an immense scale, and, by means of their court Jews, drained the coffers of their Christian subjects.—The gypsies, another foreign race, but harmless and unimportant in number, made their first appearance in Germany in 1422. They were probably an Indian race, flying before the conquering arms of Timur.

The peasantry suffered even more than the citizens by the thirty years' war. With the exception of the countries in which the peasants had preserved their liberties and rights, Switzerland, Holland, and Friesland, the whole of Central and Eastern Germany was peopled with slaves, unpossessed of honor, wealth, or knowledge, the produce of whose toil was swallowed up by the nobility, the clergy and the court. A distinction must, nevertheless, be made between the originally German and the originally Slavonian population. In the Slavonian East, there were fewer burdens and more personal slavery; in the German West, greater personal freedom and heavier dues. In Wurtemberg, for instance, the serf was not bound to the soil and was free to quit his lord; in Austria, Bohemia, Silesia, and the frontier provinces, he was unpossessed of this privilege. The Wurtemberg peasant was, on the other hand, far more heavily laden with oppressive dues, socage-service, and exposed to heavier punishments than the half-slave in the East. The former was an impoverished, fallen, ill-treated freeman, whose rebellious spirit hardships alone could tame; the latter was a hereditary bondman, whose patient content befitted the patriarchal position of his lord.

In olden times, when gold was scarce, the peasant, besides the tithes that fell to the church, paid his lord in kind, a portion of grain, flax, fruit, grass, a cow from the herd, a hen and eggs from house and hearth. He also paid socage-service, that is, worked in person and with his horses

for his lord. These dues and services were originally moderate, but, as the wants of the nobility gradually increased, the peasantry became more heavily oppressed, and their consequent revolt merely afforded to the nobility an opportunity and an excuse for a more systematic mode of oppression.

Socage dues were arbitrarily increased. In the sixteenth century, the electors of Brandenburg were compelled to set a limit to the oppressive practices of the nobility, and to fix the services performed by the peasant to his lord at two days in the week. The most oppressive of all was the hunting-average, which compelled the peasant to tread down his own crops while aiding his lord in chasing the deer. The peasantry were also exposed to the most unjust, most disgusting, and extraordinary dues. Socage-duty was, moreover, remissible on payment of a certain sum, which was enforced upon all unable or unwilling to perform it in person. Rents or natural dues were, in course of time, also raised. On every parcel of land, every corner of the house, a new and especial impost, often distinguished by a whimsical name, was levied. Each season of the year, every change in the family by marriage or death, an additional building, etc., enriched the manorial lord. Besides the gift of the best head of the cattle, the best piece of furniture, or the best dress of the deceased peasant, to his lord, the *Landemium*, generally ten per cent on the real value of the property, had to be paid into his coffers on its transition into other hands, besides innumerable other chance dues. Then came a number of new punishments and fines. Air and water, forest and field, were originally free to all. Villages were more scattered, the country more open, the nobles more contented and generally absent; but, by degrees, the lord of the manor insisted on the sole enjoyment of the chase, the stream, the forest, and the field, and inflicted the most terrible punishments on the serf who ventured to infringe his self-raised prerogative. These punishments were also profitable, being remittable by fine.

In the Catholic states, the cultivation of the land in large

tracts, copyholds, was still continued; but in the Protestant provinces, the subdivision of property became general; the country people in the former were, consequently, more inclined to idleness and amusement, those of the latter to industry and care. The greatest evil was the general demand for money, which was made to replace personal service and payment in kind, and the peasant was constrained to borrow money and to pay interest, which was shamelessly raised and prolonged, for it, in kind. This system of exaction was, for instance, pursued by the Swiss burghers toward their bondmen.

The peasant, miserably fed and lodged, daily overworked, physically and mentally degraded, gradually lost his ancient health and vigor. The gigantic frame of the free-born German withered beneath the hopeless unpaid toil of the socager. The peasantry had, after a bloody contest, been disarmed. Instead of, as of yore, following their lord to the field, they were chained like oxen to the plow, and, degraded and despised, vegetated in ignorance and want. In the Protestant states, a few village schools were established, but it was long before reading and writing became general among the lower classes; nor did they derive much benefit from the instruction they received, as it merely consisted of religious precepts, which, although calculated to console the wretched peasant and to fortify his patience, neither improved nor altered his oppressed condition. Still, deeply as the peasant had fallen, his original nature was not utterly perverted, and the further he was removed from the higher classes, the less was he tainted with their despicable vices. Nor had his natural humor and good sense, his consciousness of higher worth, entirely quitted him. In the lowly hut were preserved those fine popular legends, thrown aside by the higher classes for awkward imitations of the foreigner. It was there that the memory of the wondrous days of yore still lived, that ideas both lovely and sublime were understood and cherished. Far away and forgotten by self-styled civilization, legendary lore took refuge among the poor and un-

taught children of nature. But, wherever oppression and contempt roused the bitter feelings of the boor, they found vent in mocking proverbs, popular ballads, and, more than all, in coarse but cutting jests.

CCXVI. *The Erudition of the Universities*

While the people were thus enslaved by ignorance, learning made rapid strides at the universities, where the reputation of the scholars gradually rose as that of the churchmen sank; but the literati, after freeing themselves from the shackles of the Roman hierarchy, and, under Luther's powerful guidance, for some time forwarding the popular interests of Germany, ere long forsook their national literature for the exclusive study of the classics and introduced much that was heterogeneous into the literature of Germany.

The learned class, which provided servants for the state and for the church, was formed in the universities, which, since the Reformation, had increased in number and had been newly constituted.

The German universities were founded at the following periods: Prague, 1348; Vienna, 1365; Heidelberg, 1387; Cologne, 1388; Erfurt, 1392; Leipzig, 1409; Rostock, 1419; Louvain, 1426; Griefswald, 1456; Freiburg in the Breisgau, 1457; Treves, 1472; Ingolstadt, 1472; Tubingen and Mayence, 1477; Wittenberg, 1502; Frankfort on the Oder, 1506; Marburg, 1527; Königsberg, 1544; Dillingen, 1549; Jena, 1558; Leyden, 1575; Helmstædt, 1576; Altorf, 1578; Olmutz, 1581; Wurzburg, 1582; Franecker, 1585; Grætz, 1586; Giessen, 1607; Gröningen, 1614; Paderborn, 1615; Rinteln and Strasburg, 1621; Salzburg, 1623; Osnabruck, 1630; Utrecht, 1634; Linz, 1636; Bamberg, 1648. The Catholic universities were, previously to the Reformation, principally under the direction of the Franciscans and Dominicans, and, subsequently to that period, under that of the Jesuits, all of whom were equally imbued with the spirit of the Roman hierarchy. The Protestant universities were at first directed

by the Reformed clergy; at a later period, by the lawyers and court counsellors, in the spirit of Roman law and modern monarchy.

The German universities underwent a radical change immediately after the great catastrophe at Prague in the time of the Hussites. The professors and scholars, subdivided according to nations, no longer formed free republics as heretofore; the professors were paid by the government, and the students were divided, not according to nations, but according to faculties and *bursa*. Bursa (Bœrse) were institutions for the maintenance of the students, who were thence termed *Burschen*. There were professor and burgher Bursa; the former of which looked down upon the latter and ill-treated them. The fresh students were also dreadfully abused by those of longer standing. These Bursa were put an end to by the free spirit of the Reformation, but the roughness and brutality inherent in them was imitated in the clubs, into which the students were again divided according to the country to which they belonged, a resuscitation of the ancient division according to nations, and also in the horrid Pennal system. In 1661, John George II. of Saxony was compelled formally to prohibit the robbery of the younger students, the Pennales, by the elder ones, the Schorists, who deprived them of their good clothes and gave them rags in return, obliged them to clean their shoes, etc.

Before the Reformation, scholasticism in theology, law, and grammar was chiefly taught at the universities. Cavils, poverty of idea, verbosity, dialectic controversy were fostered; science was but little studied. The pure conception of the Virgin formed, before the Reformation, the principal subject of controversy between the theologians of all the universities, and was for a whole century disputed with great subtlety and bitterness in controversial writings and in discourses in learned assemblies. The principal controversy between the profane masters concerned the *casus vocativus*, whether it was a *positio* or a *suppositio*, and an important congress was convoked at Heidelberg for the purpose of de-

ciding the dispute. This scholastic spirit unfortunately also animated the Reformers, and, as the enthusiasm that prevailed during Luther's time disappeared, the divinity of the Protestant universities became as strongly impregnated with sophistry and cavilling as that of the Papists had formerly been. To these were added the scholasticism of the lawyers, the cavils of the commentators on the Roman law, who industriously sought to uproot all German customs, to annihilate German spirit and the poor remains of German liberty, by setting out with the principle of the worst period of the Roman empire, "that the will of the sovereign was the source of all law." The most distinguished of the Romanists in the sixteenth century were Holoander, Zasius, Henning von Gode or the *monarcha juris*. As early as the fifteenth century, Peter von Andlau, in a work on the German empire, attempted to reduce its constitution to a system, in which he was followed, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, by Arumæus of Jena. Chemnitz (Hippolytus of Lapide), however, acquired the highest repute by his work on the Peace of Westphalia, in which he condemned the unity of Germany and lauded her subdivision under petty princes and foreign brigands. Politics were studied in Holland, where a more liberal spirit reigned, with far greater assiduity than in the rest of Germany. Hugo Grotius, by his work *de Jure Belli et Pacis*, laid the foundation to a law of nations, based on natural right, reason, morality, and Christianity.

Grammar, hitherto a dry and unintellectual study, was animated with fresh life. The study of the dead languages rendered the Germans familiar with the poets, philosophers, and historians of Greece, and the dark shades of scholastic ignorance faded before the rising light of knowledge. The study of the humanities had greatly aided the Reformation and was therefore naturally carried on to a still greater extent in the Protestant universities. The founders of the first academies, in which the learned languages and humanities were taught, were Rudolf Agricola, of whom mention has

already been made, at Heidelberg, Conrad Celtes, Wimpheling, Lange at Erfurt, Hegius; the most celebrated professors were Reuchlin and Erasmus; their most talented advocate was Ulric von Hutten; their intermediator with Luther's Reformation, Philip Melancthon. In the course of the sixteenth century, there appeared numbers of distinguished professors of Greek and Latin, grammarians, editors to the ancient authors, critics, etc., of whom the following acquired the greatest note: Beatus Rhenanus, Conrad Gessner, Joachim Camerarius, Eoban Hessus, Gruterus, Crusius, Hermann von der Busch, the witty Bebel of Tubingen, the still wittier Taubmann of Wittenberg, the unfortunate Frischlin, Scioppius of the Pfalz, the Dutchman, Justus Lipsius, a second Erasmus in wit and learning, Meursius, Puteanus, Scaliger, Heinsius, Gerard Vossius, Willibald Pirkheimer, the learned citizen of Nuremberg, and Peutinger of Augsburg, Thomas von Rehdiger, a wealthy Silesian nobleman, the collector of a valuable library, etc. It was certainly strange for imagination to digress so suddenly from the present in order to bury itself in the records of the past, but the contrast was natural. Who would not have sighed for deliverance from the theological nonsense at that time occupying the whole attention of the learned world? And what consolation could the earlier histories of Germany, which merely recorded the triumphs of Papacy, afford? It was at that period pardonable for the learned to fly for relief to the beautiful creations of the ancient Greeks, and, if this inclination has been carried to an extreme, if the lovers of classical antiquity have neglected to improve their mother tongue, this is but a natural and a temporary consequence of the enthusiasm with which the study of the ancients was pursued. The German enthusiast is apt to believe a useful thing the only one necessary, and, while straining his energies in one direction, to be blind to aught else; but, while mentally transported to the times of ancient Greece and Rome, he involuntarily formed himself on the models they presented.

Natural philosophy now came into repute. During the

Catholic Middle Ages, every subject had been treated from a spiritual or religious point of view. Nature had been despised as an instrument of sin. Heaven was the Christian's highest aim, and his sojourn upon earth was to be spent in self-denial, celibacy, fasting, in mental and physical abasement. This sprang from the antithesis originally offered by Christianity to the heathen adoration of nature, and the inquirer into nature was consequently regarded as a student of the black art.

At Salerno in Italy medicine had been studied on the Mahometan principle, but had been rendered incapable of being improved by experience by its accommodation to the general scholastic notions. In the commencement of the fifteenth century, an Alsatian monk, Basilius Valentinus, inspired by his own genius, began, as he eloquently expressed himself, "to analyze nature." His first discoveries in chemistry formed a stepping-stone for all others. In this century, also, Conrad von Megenberg, deacon of Ratisbon, wrote a treatise on the nature of the heavenly bodies, on that of the earth, stones, plants, animals, and mankind. His notions were, it is true, extremely imperfect. This work passed through six editions between 1475 and 1499.

Almost a century, however, elapsed before the humanists succeeded in forming physicians on the model of the ancient Greeks and Romans, of Hippocrates and Galen, in banishing the old scholastic dogmas and in taking experience as a guide. Koch of Basel, Winther of Andernach, Hagenbuch, Fuchs, Lange, Zwinger, and numerous others distinguished themselves as practitioners, as well as translators of the ancients and as commentators. Conrad Gessner, A.D. 1565, was the most noted among the humanists and naturalists. Botany and anatomy were also studied. Tabernæmontanus wrote a celebrated botanical work in the fifteenth century. In 1491 appeared the botanical work of John von Cube of Mayence, adorned with woodcuts; and Ketham made anatomical woodcuts for Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt. Werner Rolfing, a celebrated anatomist, was born in 1599, at Hamburg.

Theophrastus Paracelsus[1] opened a completely new path in the sixteenth century. The system of this great physician and philosopher was as far removed from that of the humanists, the Hippocratic physicians, as from that of the ancient scholastics. He was taught by self-gained experience, not by ancient assertions. The success of his cures, his simplification of medicaments, and his abolition of innumerable abuses gained him immense popularity during his continual journeys through Germany, and, notwithstanding the opposition of the older physicians, numbers of the medical students followed in his steps. He completely upset the prevalent system of natural philosophy and reduced the four elements hitherto accepted, to three, corresponding with the three primitive elements in chemistry, mercurius, sulphur, and sal, so termed after the productions most nearly resembling them, quicksilver, brimstone, and salt. It was according to this theory that he divided the whole of the natural world, and, regarding man as an epitome (microcosm) of the universe (macrocosm), reduced medicine to a sympathetic and antipathetic system. Everything in the universe, according to him, affected man either mentally, spiritually, or physically; consequently, the great study of the physician was the detection of whatever was injurious or beneficial in its effect in every case. Imperfect as his theory was, it greatly advanced the study and practice of medicine by promoting the comparative study of nature, by simplifying medicaments and by laying down as a general rule the choice of the remedy according to the symptoms of the disease. Art was at that period still so completely in her infancy that Paracelsus was led from a belief in the sympathetic affinity pervading all nature to ascribe a corresponding quality to the stars; and one of his pupils, Crollius, supposed the external resemblance between the remedy and the symptoms of the disease to be a sign of their internal correspondence, and attempted,

[1] Philip Aureolus Theophrastus Paracelsus Bombastus ab Hohenheim, born at Einsiedeln, in Switzerland. His family came from Hohenheim, near Stuttgard.

for instance, to cure the jaundice with saffron, diseases of the brain with poppy buds, etc. These errors were, however, founded upon truth, and, even at the present day, Paracelsus is allowed by the faculty to have greatly promoted science by his introduction of the use of baths, mercury, etc.; much of his system is still irrefutable, and many of his remedies are still in general use. He died in 1541, at Salzburg, and, during the raging of the cholera, in the present century, the people went in crowds to pray at his grave. The most celebrated among his numerous pupils was Thurneiser of Basel, who was born A.D. 1530. He was one of the most enterprising spirits of the age, began life as a soldier, and was in turn a miner, a great traveller, private physician to John George, elector of Brandenburg, treasurer to several princes, and, at the same time, financier, alchemist, physician, printer, and engraver in wood. He first brought the calendar, adorned with woodcuts, into general use. After accumulating an enormous fortune, he was seized with home-sickness and returned to Basel, where he was accused of practicing the black art and only escaped the stake by the sacrifice of the whole of his property and by a hasty flight into Italy. He died, A.D. 1595, in a monastery at Cologne. Erast of Heidelberg was Paracelsus's most noted opponent.

The followers of Paracelsus, undeterred by opposition, pursued his system throughout the whole of the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth centuries, gaining knowledge by their own experience; for instance, Crato von Kraftheim, Schenk von Grafenberg, Plater, the Dutchmen, Foreest and Fyres, the great anatomist, Vesalius of Brussels, the first surgeons of note, Braunschweig and Wurz, the first great oculist Bartisch, the first accoucheur, Rœsslin. Wyerus rendered great service to his age by his philanthropical work against the belief in the existence of witches. George Agricola was the first mineralogist in Saxony, where the mines were industriously worked. John von Gmunden gained great repute at Vienna as an astronomer; his pupils, Peurbach and Regiomontanus, became equally celebrated. In

the beginning of the seventeenth century, Fabricius of East Friesland discovered the spots in the sun; Simon Mayer, the satellites of Jupiter; but the great Kepler, a Swabian in the service of the emperor Rudolph II., gained undying fame. After the discovery of the revolution of the earth with all the other planets around the sun, in 1545, by the Pole, Copernicus, Kepler discovered the laws, known by his name, regulating the distances between the planets, and their course. He also wrote the "Harmony of the Universe," in which he reduced numbers, tones, and forms to a universal law. The merit of this extraordinary man was but ill-appreciated by his contemporaries. Mathematics and mechanics were studied with great success by Regiomontanus in the fifteenth century, and by the celebrated painter, Dürer. These sciences were afterward chiefly promoted by the Jesuits, who sought by their means to replace the deficiency in studies demanding freedom of thought. In the sixteenth century, Adam Riese of Annaberg in Saxony wrote a general account-book for the people, which was extensively circulated.

The era of the Reformation was remarkable for discoveries and inventions. The invention of gunpowder had been discovered shortly before; in the fifteenth century, printing was discovered; in the sixteenth, clocks were invented. In Nuremberg, thousands of watches, called Nuremberg eggs, were made after Peter Hele's invention. Homelius constructed a curious astronomical clock for the emperor, Charles V. In 1540, the surveyor's table was invented by Gemma. In 1590, the telescope and microscope were invented by Zacharias Jansen; and, in the seventeenth century, the laterna magica by Father Kircher. The first spinning-wheel was made in Brunswick, in 1530, by Master Jurgen.

CCXVII. *The Dark Sciences—Superstition*

The power of Satan upon earth had long been an article of faith, but it was not until the Reformation that it became the general belief, and that attempts were made to exorcise spirits and to make use of demoniacal powers for the attainment of human aims. The studies of the humanists had led to a nearer acquaintance with the magic of the ancients and had produced a sort of partiality for ancient heathen practices. The principal source to these dark desires, however, lay in the Reformation. The bolt launched by Luther against St. Peter's chair at Rome drove the faith of the times into two opposite extremes; the soldier and the savant confessed the infidelity of the heathen philosopher, and the mass of the people was enslaved by the grossest superstition. The two extremes, nevertheless, met. The devil, the powers of darkness, the horror of the one, were diligently sought for by the other. There were some bold spirits, who, firmly persuaded of the power of Satan, instead of flying from, bound themselves to him for the purpose of attaining power, wealth, etc., or of guarding themselves against evil. Soldiers, consequently, believed in the Passau art, which was supposed to render them invulnerable, in the power of free-bullets, which never missed their aim, in the virtue of mandragore, spirits in crystal, the lucky penny, love-potions, etc., etc.—The foolhardy spirit which led the lawless soldier and the lost female to invoke the powers of hell for the attainment of some low and worldly aim took a higher direction among the savants, and the well-known tale of Doctor Faust is founded upon a general fact. There were, in those wild times, speculative minds, which, rejecting the ancient belief in revelation, sought to resolve their doubts, not indirectly, by application to the Holy Scriptures, but directly, by intercourse with the world of spirits and with nature, as, for instance, Bacon of Verulam in England, and Agrippa of

Nettesheim in Germany. Although free from the vulgar belief in the devil, they hoped by means of the correspondence between microcosm, the little world within man, and macrocosm, the great universe, nature and the world of spirits, to find out, either by raising spirits or by the discovery of the secret powers and primitive elements of nature, the secrets of the universe. It was from attempts of this nature, which gave birth to the most extravagant misconceptions on the part of the people, which were countenanced by the clergy, whose credit had fallen, that the legend of Faust arose, in which the hatred of the monks against the inventor of printing is evidently mixed up, that art having been also ascribed by them to the devil.

As the study of natural philosophy advanced, the devil and his agents were discarded, although the hope of finding out the secret of their original connection with external nature by the discovery of natural magic, of making gold, and of the universal elixir, still prevailed. Alchemy, or the art of making gold, was exercised as early as the commencement of the fifteenth century by some pupils of Basilius Valentinus, and avarice cherished the hope of making gold from a primitive matter, the philosopher's stone, whence all other matters were derived, which had been sought for by Basilius. Barbara, the infamous consort of the emperor Sigmund, was the first who retained a court-alchemist, John von Laaz, in her service. Her example was followed at Baireuth by Albert Achilles, and by John, elector of Brandenburg, who, in the hope of discovering the primitive matters of which gold was composed, melted their wealth in the crucible. Alchemy became the rage. Almost every court had its alchemist. Hans von Dœrnberg reigned at the conclusion of the fifteenth century with uncontrolled power over Hesse, under the Landgrave Henry and his son William. The matter even attracted the attention of the learned, of the celebrated historical commentator Trithemius, of the philosopher Agrippa von Nettesheim, and of Theophrastus Paracelsus, who sought, not gold, but the philosopher's stone. This art was

rendered general throughout Germany by the emperor, Rudolph II., who was termed the prince of alchemists. The adepts flocked to his court, and even princes vied with each other in the search. Augustus, elector of Saxony, occupied his whole life with this futile art; Christian II. displayed equal zeal and sentenced the unfortunate Setonius, who was generally believed by his contemporaries to possess the secret, to the wheel. Setonius's sole confidant, Sendivogius, was, like his master, chased from one court to another. He was thrown into prison by Frederick, duke of Wurtemberg; all the princes wanted gold, and the charlatans were no longer secure of their lives. The rage for discovering this secret was so excessive that a certain potter seriously asserted that gold could be extracted from the Jews; that the bodies of twenty-four Jews, reduced to ashes, would produce one ounce of gold. Thomas Liber, A.D. 1583, first strenuously opposed the prevailing superstition. Societies of alchemists were also naturally formed, either for the thing itself or for appearance' sake, the secret forming an irresistible attraction; and a mystical work was published, which set forth that the order of the Golden Fleece, instituted by Philip of Burgundy, had originally the object and the symbols of alchemy. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Valentin Andrea founded, in Swabia, the order of the Rosicrucians, who propagated the practices of the adepts and the mystical ideas of Paracelsus. The hope of discovering the universal medicine and the elixir of life was confined to some of the physicians of the time; the general thirst was more for gold than for prolongation of life. It was asserted of the adept Trautmannsdorf, A.D. 1609, that he had prolonged his existence one hundred and forty-seven years.

Astrology was, equally with alchemy, encouraged by the great and powerful. Rudolph II. and Wallenstein were its principal patrons. Paracelsus was firmly persuaded of the influence exercised by the stars on man's every action; nor was Kepler free from a similar superstition, which had, however, the good result of promoting his study of astronomy

and of leading to scientific investigation, more particularly since the invention of the telescope in Holland, A.D. 1600.

Chiromancy, or the presaging of fate from the lines of the hand, and sympathetic cure were the most celebrated among the other dark sciences. The investigation of the lines of the hand, which was allied with that of the physiognomy and of the general appearance of the whole person, proves that the adepts were possessed of an extraordinary quickness of perception, unknown at the present day; and the sympathetic cures are so much the more important, owing to their being a remains of the ancient popular mode of cure practiced by the heathens, which has, in our times, produced the theory of animal magnetism. Many ailments were ascribed to the power of Satan, and spiritual measures were resorted to for their cure, such as exorcism or expulsion of the devil, amulets, relics, etc. A peculiar healing property was ascribed to certain saints and holy places. Almost every member of the body had its patron saint. Mental aberration was especially regarded as demoniacal possession. In 1451, George, bishop of Lausanne, was persuaded of the potency of a spiritual anathema for driving away grasshoppers and mice, and, not long afterward, a bishop of Coire resorted to the same means for the riddance of cock-chafers.

Ancient mysticism was also transformed by this novel and fantastical natural philosophy. Nicolas von Cusa, a countryman of Treves, formed, A.D. 1462, the transition from scholastic theosophy to natural philosophy by a mystic numeration, a system of the universe harmoniously regulated by numbers, the principles of all things. He was succeeded by Paracelsus, who completed the vague numerical system of Cusanus by declaring the principles divine effluences and living powers. As all numbers proceeded from one, so did the whole universe from God; as all numbers corresponded with each other, so did all things in the world. From the unity of God proceeded the primitive powers, mercurius, sulphur, and sal, which, although separated into a spiritual and an earthly sense, there as soul, mind, and

body, here as water, air, and earth, nevertheless corresponded, and, consequently, there was nothing in man that had not its great antitype in nature. Valentin Weigel of Saxony, A.D. 1588, pursued a similar idea and founded an extremely simple system, which was afterward improved upon by Spinoza and Schelling, the identity of the two great and universal antitheses, of the mind and body, of light and darkness, of good and bad, etc., which, ever externally at war, were united in God. The two Swabians, Sebastian Frank and Gutmann, the former of whom was an Anabaptist, the latter a Rosicrucian, and Khunrath, whose mania for mystery led him astray in the cabalistics of the ancient Jews, are less clear and profound. In the seventeenth century, the Moravian, Amos Comenius, produced a system which reunited the doctrine of Weigel with that of Paracelsus, by an endeavor to unite the two universal antitheses, body and mind, by a third, light. He was the first who attributed great importance to light, both outward and inward. We also owe to him an account of an extremely curious malady, with which a Bohemian girl, Christina Poniatovia, was visited. She was a somnambulist and had visions, which he has described with such accuracy as to leave no doubt of the coincidence of the symptoms with those of modern magnetism. The celebrated physician, von Helmont, who regarded nature as an effluence of spiritual powers and recognized a pure spiritual cause in all her works, also flourished during the seventeenth century.

Agrippa von Nettesheim, A.D. 1535, stands alone. The foe of scholasticism and of theological controversy, an utter infidel, he hoped to attain to higher knowledge by means of magic, and for that purpose adjured all earthly and unearthly powers. During his restless wanderings over Europe, he studied everything, saw everything, took a degree in every faculty, practiced theology at Paris, the law at Metz, physic at Freiburg in Switzerland, became private physician to the queen of France, and finally historiographer to Margaret, stadtholderess of the Netherlands. He trav-

elled over the whole of Spain, Italy, France, and England, "seeking rest and finding none," and at length published a work "On the Uncertainty and Vanity of all Scientific Research," with which he bade adieu to the world. At an earlier period, when resting his hopes on magic, he had written a work "On Secret Philosophy," and, in spite of his later contempt for the world and for all that therein is, he left another, entitled "De Nobilitate Sexus Fœminini."

Quite otherwise, unvisited by fortune or by learning, without knowledge of the world, born beneath a lowly roof, where he passed the whole of his life, in the obscurity of a little town and of a miserable occupation, the shoemaker of Gœrlitz, Jacob Bœhme, A.D. 1624, placed an implicit confidence in Heaven and found the eternal wisdom which the proud Agrippa had vainly sought for throughout the world. The truths that escaped the perception of the great philosopher were clear as day to his pure and childlike mind, which, although untaught and uncultivated, was extraordinarily profound and comprehensive. Jacob Bœhme stands far above the rest of the mystics, all of whose various systems he has, in his own, formed into a harmonious whole. In him meet the three great founders of mysticism of the twelfth century, for in him are united the heroic morality, the chivalric self-sacrificing love of Hugo de St. Victoire, the eternal harmony and beauty of nature of Honorius Augustodensis, and the historical world of Rupert von Duiz. He also carried the doctrine of Paracelsus still higher, by seeking God in history as well as in nature. He was so wonderfully fertile in ideas that later philosophers have raised new systems on mere fragments of the one founded by him.

CCXVIII. *Witchcraft*

THE burning of witches formed one of the most remarkable features of the age of the Reformation. It commenced at an earlier period, but first became a general practice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The belief in witch-

craft, universal before the migrations at the worst period of the Roman empire, had disappeared before the light of Christianity, and was more particularly discouraged by the German wanderers. Rotharis the Longobard, in his legislative code, especially prohibited the trial of witches, witchcraft being impossible.[1] Charlemagne was equally enlightened. In 1310, the belief in the existence of witches was condemned by the council of Treves, and the nightly expeditions of witches was declared a fabulous invention.[2] This belief was little general during the Middle Ages, but suddenly gained force in the fifteenth century.

Sprenger, a notorious Dominican inquisitor, is accused of having first disseminated this fearful superstition in Constance; the executions at the stake, until his time of rare occurrence, becoming thenceforward extremely frequent. His work, "The Witches' Hammer" (Malleus Maleficarum), attracted general attention and inspired half Europe with a dread of witchcraft hitherto unknown; he also persecuted witches on principle, and is said to have burned upward of a hundred old women. On being bitterly reproached for his cruelty, he appealed to the pope, and, A.D. 1485, Innocent VIII., by a bull, affirmed the existence of witches and the necessity of their persecution. It was in vain that Sigmund, archduke of the Tyrol, caused a protest to be written by Ulric Muller of Constance and declared the belief in the existence of witches a mere superstitious delusion; the voice of the Dominican, supported by the authority of the pope, was alone heeded. On the commencement of the Reformation, this belief was recognized as a superstition, but, notwithstanding, continued to spread. Old women were more fanatically persecuted as suspected witches by the Lutherans than they had been by the Inquisition; the devil, in those

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[1] Nullus præsumat aldiam aut ancillam quasi strigam aut mascam occidere, quod Christianis mentibus nullatenus credendum est aut possibile.

[2] Nulla mulier se nocturnis horis equitare cum Diana dea paganorum vel cum Herodiana innumera mulierum multitudine profiteatur. Hæc enim dæmoniaca est illusio.—*Martene Thes. Anecd. IV.*

times of terror, was present to every imagination and was portrayed on every wall.

Malignant females were supposed to conclude a bond with the devil, from whom they learned the art of raising storms, of depriving their neighbors' cows of their milk, of carrying off their neighbors' corn through the air, of striking men and cattle dead or with sickness with the evil eye, of brewing love-potions, of awaking unnatural hate or love, etc. Almost all the women accused of these practices confessed under torture. Most of the trials coincide in this point, that they had learned the art from some other old woman, who had been taught by the devil himself in the form of a handsome young man, from whom she had received the witches' salve, which, when smeared over the whole body, gave her the power of flying up the chimney seated astride on either a broom, a spinning-wheel, a spit, a goat, or a cat, to the great witches' Sabbath, held during *Walpurgis night*, that of the 1st of May, on the Blocksberg, where all the witches met, danced in a misty circle back to back, and worshipped a great black goat, which at length caught fire of itself and was reduced to ashes, which were collected by the witches for magical purposes, and each one, remounting her steed, whisked home. From this moment they were in partnership with the devil, who marked them as his own and gave them power to work harm, but treated them harshly and kept them in abject poverty. This formed the substance of most of the depositions. The accused was, in some instances, found lying stiff and apparently dead on the ground, and confessed, on regaining her senses, that she had been, during her state of torpor, absent at a witches' meeting. This proves a somnambulistic state. It has, at a more modern period, been believed that the whole tale had been drawn by means of torture from women, who, in their agony, confessed themselves guilty of anything laid to their charge; much, nevertheless, still remains that is utterly inexplicable, particularly in reference to the somnambulistic visions, and, in the face of so many authentic proofs, there no longer ex-

ists a doubt but that the belief in all this nonsense was general among women, and that these ideas had become an epidemy, a contagious mania among them. Was it not natural that at a period when the worst qualities of the human heart had been excited and had actually gained the mastery, when men boldly cited the devil, that the worst portion of the female sex should also give way to horrid desires and imaginations?—The belief in the existence of witches was, however, evidently the offspring of ancient pagan superstition. The night of the 1st of May coincides with the great festival of Spring, which was anciently solemnized on the mountains. The burning of the goat, the symbol of fruitfulness, is an ancient heathen sacrifice. The transformation of the witches into cats or wolves is also a pagan notion.

As this superstition gained ground, every imaginable evil, such as scarcity, damage done by the weather, loss of cattle, sicknesses, robbery, losses, etc., was ascribed to the witches, and suspicion generally fell on the oldest woman in the neighborhood. Envy and unneighborly grudge had full play, and revenge for suffered, or fear of future, evil, created a bitterness and rage which at once demanded and justified the ill-treatment of witches. The church, the state, and public opinion were generally unanimous in declaring that no means were to be left untried for the annihilation of the power of Satan upon earth. The form of trial was almost everywhere similar. The accused was subjected to the ordeal; that is, her hair, even her eyebrows, was entirely shaven off in order to discover the devil's mark, and woe to her if a mole or a mother's mark were discovered. It was also a popular notion that by depriving a witch of her hair the devil lost his power over her. The second and more celebrated ordeal consisted in tying the witch's right thumb to the left great toe, and the left thumb to the right toe, and throwing her into the water. If she swam it was a certain proof of her being a witch. The third was by weight, witches being believed to be as light as a feather. They were accord-

ingly tried by a certain measure, which, if it proved too heavy, condemned the unhappy woman to be tortured until she confessed, which inevitably doomed her to the stake, fire being the means by which witchcraft could alone be totally extirpated and the world be purified from the incantations of the devil.

The suspicion, and the confession, wrung by torture, were often equally ridiculous. The most harmless things were attributed to the power of witchcraft. Luther once advised that a sick child of twelve years of age, who had an unnatural appetite, should be thrown into the Mulda. At Freudenstadt, in the Black Forest, a monthly nurse was accused of having murdered a hundred children and of having laid changelings in their cribs. At Frankfort on the Maine, in 1536, a girl was accused of being in correspondence with the devil, by whom she had been endowed with the power of extracting gold from walls. At Wienerisch-Neustadt, in 1562, the sexton was burned alive for having boiled a child and spread the plague by mixing some of the earth from the infected graves with the broth. During the same year, a hailstorm at Esslingen caused a severe persecution of witches, in which the parish priest and the executioner discovered equal zeal and bade defiance to the more humane and enlightened town council. At Horb, in the Black Forest, in 1578, nine women were sentenced to the stake in consequence of a hailstorm. At Quedlinburg, in 1589, a hundred and thirty-three witches were burned in one day for having danced on the Blocksberg and for having emptied the cellars of fourteen of the wealthiest people in the neighborhood of their wine on the occasion: all were put to death except four of the most beautiful, whom the devil, always in the shape of a handsome young man, is said to have carried away. At Spandau, in 1595, a great number of people were possessed, from having picked up gold, rings, buttons, hemp, etc., dropped by the devil in the streets. At Naumburg on the Saal, in 1604, a witch was burned for depriving an absent person of one of his eyes by magic. At Hildesheim, in

1615, a boy suffered the same death for having transformed himself into a cat. At Strasburg, in 1633, a boy was also burned for carrying letters by night to the Jesuits in a carriage drawn by six cats. At Solothurn, in 1549, a woman was sent to the stake for having ridden on a wolf through the forest. In 1725, a reward of five florins was offered at Hechingen to the captor of a cobold, a nix, etc.

Neither old age nor tender youth escaped. At Wolfenbuttel, in 1591, a woman a hundred and six years of age was burned; in Augsburg, A.D. 1688, a girl aged twenty, who was accused of having practiced magic since her sixth year; and, A.D. 1694, a woman aged eighty-four, since her tenth. These accusations were generally made for the purpose of gain, either by confiscation of property or by perquisites. The trial of witches was equally profitable to the judge, the advocate, and the executioner. A deacon of Mayence caused upward of three hundred people in the villages of Crotzenburg and Burgel to be sent to the stake on a charge of witchcraft for no other purpose than that of adding their property to his cathedral. Executions in the mass were of frequent occurrence. Julius of Brunswick boasted of having planted a whole forest of stakes, near Wolfenbuttel, for the execution of witches. John, archbishop of Treves, sentenced the women in such numbers to the stake, in 1585, that in two districts but two remained; in 1589, he condemned Flade, the rector of the university of Treves, as a sorcerer, and, in 1593, thirty witches at Montabaur. Adolf, bishop of Augsburg, A.D. 1627, sentenced forty-two women to be burned on one occasion, and, during the whole of his government, sent two hundred and nineteen witches and wizards, among which were four canons, eight vicars, one doctor, eighteen little schoolboys, a blind girl, another girl nine years of age, with her infant sister, to the stake. The bishop of Bamberg condemned six hundred witches, the archbishop of Salzburg ninety-seven, in 1678, to be burned, on account of a great epidemic among the cattle. One of the curators of the bishop of Freisingen extirpated almost all the women in

the neighborhood of the castle of Werdenfels. In 1651, one hundred and two people were burned at Zuckmantel in Silesia; among others, children of one to six years of age, who were said to be the offspring of the devil.

At Nœrdlingen, between 1590 and 1594, thirty-two innocent women were burned as witches at the instigation of Pferinger, the fanatical burgomaster. The case of Rebecca Lemp, a paymaster's wife, who was universally honored as a virtuous wife and mother, excited the greatest compassion; her trial and touching letters have been published by Weng. The representations of her husband, the entreaties of her tender children as they clung around her, the testimony of her neighbors, were alike unavailing; she was condemned to the stake. The whole of these unfortunates steadily denied the truth of the accusation until forced by the rack to assent to all the questions put to them by the executioner. The thirty-third, Maria Holl, the wife of an innkeeper, however, heroically withstood fifty-six tortures of the most painful description without confessing; the people rose in her favor and even the clergy prohibited the continuance of this scene of horror; the lawyers finally, but very unwillingly, yielded, and the city of Ulm, of which Maria Holl was a native, interceding for her in the diet, she was restored to her friends.[1] Similar cruelties are to be met with in the history of Siegburg, where the fanatical Dr. Baumann conducted the trials from 1636 to 1638. Nails were, for instance, thrust into the moles and other flesh marks discovered on the bodies of the unfortunate women, in order to deprive the devil of his power over them.—The Jesuit, Frederick Spee, saw such a number of witches burned in Paderborn that he was struck with horror, and his hair is said to have turned white in one night from sorrow for the fate of one of the victims, whom he had accompanied as spiritual adviser to the pile. In 1631, he published a work, in which he exhorted all the princes and people in authority to put a stop to these horrors. One single

[1] Weng, The Trial of the Witches at Nœrdlingen.

judge belonging to this district had condemned five hundred witches to the stake.

Cornelius Loos, the priest of Mayence, who declared the belief in witchcraft an error, was compelled by close imprisonment to retract, but, unable to overcome the dictates of his conscience, reiterated his entreaties for mercy toward the wretched women, whose innocence he again asserted, and was once more incarcerated. Tanner, the Bavarian Jesuit, was, on discovering a similarly humane spirit, denounced as a wizard. The Dutchmen, Wyerus and Bekker, were unable to check the prevailing superstition of the age. The piles smoked until far into the eighteenth century. In 1701, seven witches and one wizard were burned at Zurich; in 1714, on the Heinzenberg in the Grisons, a girl sixteen years of age suffered; in 1725, there was an execution at Hechingen; in 1731, nine corpses were burned at Olmutz owing to a notion of their being vampires, who sucked the blood of sleepers; in 1744, five witches were chained in a great tun, tortured and burned, at Tepperbuden, near Kolditz, in Lower Silesia; in 1750, Renate Senger, prioress of the convent of Unterzell in Wurzburg, was beheaded and burned as a witch; in 1754, a girl of thirteen was beheaded for a witch in Bavaria; in 1755, another, aged fourteen, suffered at Landshut. In the same year, twenty corpses were burned in Moravia, and, A.D. 1783, Anna Gœldlin, the last of the witches, was burned at Glarus in Switzerland.

CCXIX. *Poetry and Art*

On the fall of the Hohenstaufen, poetry declined, and the song of the Minnesinger ceased with the breath of the youthful Conradin. The enthusiastic feelings of the poet of olden times ill suited an atmosphere imbued with egotism and grovelling policy. The German, since the days of the emperor Rudolph, had been reduced to the prose of every-day life.

At the close of the fourteenth century, chivalric poetry

ceased with Teichner and Suchenwirt, two noble Austrians, attached to the court. Hugo von Montfort and Wolfensteiner the Blind, a noble Tyrolese, are, up to the fifteenth century, the last of this school. The Minnesingers were succeeded by the civic master-singers, who carried on verse-making professionally in the cities and regulated the art according to prescribed laws. The characteristics of master-singing are pedantry and want of taste whenever the poet attempts a more elevated flight, while it ever more nearly attains excellence as it assimilates itself to the popular style. Most of the popular ballads that were sung in the streets, and some of which bear the impress of high antiquity, became general after the Reformation on the gradual dissolution of the master-singing guilds; these ballads, often vulgar, but still oftener of infinite pathos and harmony, are the best specimens of the poetry of the age. The composers of most of them were obscure travelling students or soldiers. To these belong the lays sung by the Flagellants, and numerous sacred songs, either original or translated from the Latin, borrowed from the Hussites and collected by Luther, who added to them some fine productions of his own. The whole of these songs were unrestricted by the rules prescribed by the guilds.

The first master-singers, Henry von Muglin and Muscablut, had numerous followers. Almost every town had its singer guild, and the most celebrated among the masters invented melodies or measures, which they distinguished by pompous epithets, and which merely aimed at the accurate measurement of the syllables. An inflated allegory, a pedantic moral, enigmas and sometimes ribaldry, formed their contents. The martial deeds of the time, even the most glorious, those of the Swiss and Ditmarses, were sung in the same wearisome measure and were disfigured by the pedantic versification composed in their praise. The Swiss ballads of Vitus Weber form an exception, and, like those of Ulric von Hutten of later date, breathe the free spirit of the mountains. The Thewrdank of Melchior Pfinzing proves the utter failure

of the master-singers in epic poetry. The idea of describing Maximilian, emperor of Germany, who was ever helplessly entangled in the political intrigues of the day, as a knight of the olden time of fable and romance, was an anachronic affectation. False sublimity became for the first time inherent in German poetry. The peasants' war, the feuds of Nuremberg, those of Wurtemberg, were feebly sung. The legends, in which the spirit of the Minnesinger is still perceptible, are somewhat better; for instance, the Apollonius of Tyrlandt by Henry von Neustadt, the French King's Daughter by Buhler, the Moorish Girl by Hermann von Sachsenheim, etc., above all, the collection of amusing legends under the title of "The Seven Wise Masters," and those of Dr. Faust, of Fortunatus, and of the Venusberg, so characteristic of the age. The ever-increasing lust for wealth and pleasure is well and tragically represented in these last-mentioned legends. There were, besides these, numerous older legends from the book of heroes, of the holy Graal, etc., which were reduced to prose, and in this age appeared all the little popular books, which, in homely prose, repeated the contents of the finest of the ancient heroic ballads. Modern romances and novels in prose made their first appearance in Swabia. Nicolas von Wile, town-clerk of Esslingen, and Albert von Eyb were the first translators or writers of love-tales in prose, to which they were prompted by Æneas Sylvius, in imitation of Italian literature. Spee, a lyric poet in the spirit of the old Minnesingers, appeared at a later period, A.D. 1635, in Bavaria.

The transition to learned poesy caused the Dutch *Rederykers* (rhetoricians), who had already acquired a false taste for classical refinement, to compose didactic and satirical poems in the spirit of the Reformers. They formed themselves into chambers, which, for some time, had an extremely democratic bias. John of Leyden was one of these *Rederykers*. Anna Byms, on the other hand, gained for herself the title of the Sappho of Brabant by her coarse satires against Luther. Just van den Vondel was the best Dutch

poet.—The learned humanists imitated the poetry of the ancients. These Latin university and court-poets deemed themselves far superior to all others and pretended to the borrowed Italian custom of being crowned with laurel. This ceremony was performed either by the emperor in person, or by his proxy, the Pfalzgraf. But few among these poets-laureate deserved the honor. Even the celebrated Celtes was distinguished more by his inclination for the study of the ancients than for his poetry. The rest of the laureates have been with justice consigned to oblivion. Their stilted Latin verses are unreadable and merely show the gulf that, even at that period, separated the princes and the learned world from the people, and the foolish assumption of princes in dispensing fame that public opinion can alone bestow. The poets-laureate were sensible of the fallacy of their position; they perceived the necessity of assimilating themselves with the people, and, under the celebrated Opitz, again began to sing in German, but still retained their antique forms, ideas, and imagery. This was the commencement of modern poetry. One Latin poet alone, the Dutchman, Johannes Secundus, A.D. 1536, distinguished himself by his verses in imitation of Ovid. Among the literary follies of the day were the poems of Pierius, one of which, in honor of Christ, was composed of words commencing with C; the other, in honor of the emperor Maximilian, of words commencing with M.

The satirical poems against papacy, foreign policy, the loose morality and hypocrisy of the age, are the best that appeared during the Reformation. Sarcasm and ridicule were the only weapons with which more elevated minds could attack the general depravity. The master-singer, Hans Rosenplüt, who delineated a "king in his bath" and an "amorous priest," was one of the earliest of the satirical writers of the fourteenth century. An extremely popular work, "Liber Vagatorum," turned the begging orders into ridicule. A collection of "Merry Tales of the Parson of the Calenberg" showed the priest as a man and a boon compan-

ion. The Reformation came and added force to the sarcasms hurled against the clergy. Alberus wrote the Alcoran of the begging monks; Fischart, the Roman Beehive. The latter translated Rabelais from the French, with numerous additions in an original style, highly genial in the midst of its bombast. Ulric von Hutten was also the author of several excellent satires. Theological coarseness and commonplace, however, crept in at a later period, as may be seen in the "Monk's Ass" of Albanus, etc.—The time for political satires had not yet arrived, the princes being exclusively occupied with politics, the people with religion and morality. The age of the Reformation, consequently, produced merely one political satire, but one that has not been yet surpassed, the famous Reinecke de Vos (Reinecke Fuchs), a fable, in which King Lion holds his court, and the cunning fox (Italian policy) contrives to manage affairs with such clever malice, that right and innocence are ever oppressed, and violence and cunning ever triumph. The materials of this fable are old and are derived from the heathen fable. They were first transformed into a satirical poem, in the Netherlands, during the twelfth century, and were several times afterward translated and revised; but it was not until the sixteenth century, when the taste for satirical poetry increased, that it was made generally known, by Nicolas Baumann's translation from the Dutch of William de Madoc into Low German, when it became a national work.—Sebastian Brand amusingly described all the follies of public and private life in his time, in his celebrated "Ship of Fools," and Erasmus published, in Latin, his "Praise of Folly." In Lower Saxony, the *Koker* (the quiver full of shafts of wit) appeared, and Burkhard Waldis distinguished himself by his fables; Pauli collected merry tales, A.D. 1578. Agricola of Berlin acquired great note by a collection of German proverbs. The humanists also brought imitations of the ancient satires into vogue. Homer's War between the Frogs and Mice was, for instance, copied in Rollenhagen's "*Froschmœusler*," and in Schnurr's "War between the Ants and Flies"; Rollen-

hagen, in his "Italian Travels," also attempted an imitation of the fabulous narrations of Lucian; "The Merry Journey of the Sparrow-hawk Knight," may also be cited. The increasing coarseness of the sixteenth century, consequent on the religious contest, gradually infected satire with low obscenity, and there appeared a Latin "Fleaad," a German "Fleabait," an "Ass-king," an "Asinine Nobility and the Triumph of the Sow," etc. Dedekind's "Grobianus," a satire levelled against the coarseness and vulgarity of the age, best describes this period. The celebrated Lalenbook of 1597 is a capital satire upon the little imperial free towns. The peasantry were even an object of satire. Rosenplut, the civic master-singer, ridiculed the "wealthy peasant," who strove to raise himself above his station, and Reithart published his merry "Frolics with the Peasants." The peasants, however, took up the lash in their turn, and the reaction of peasant wit against the higher classes gave rise, in the fifteenth century, to the famous popular work "The Eulenspiegel," a collection of witty, coarse, often obscene anecdotes, attributed to a waggish boor, whose original may perhaps have in reality existed. The force of this unpretending but cutting satire lay in the natural sagacity with which the over-wisdom of the merchants, professors, doctors, judges, clergy, nobility, and princes was unmasked and derided, and the low malice contained in it is merely the national expression of a hatred naturally felt by the peasant in his state of degradation.

Theatrical representations had come into vogue since the council of Constance. At first they merely consisted of mysteries, biblical scenes, and allegories; afterward, of profane plays, during the carnival. The master-singer corporation of Nuremberg particularly distinguished itself in the latter. It was here that Rosenplut, or the fly-catcher, and Hans Volz flourished. Hans Sachs, the cobbler of Nuremberg, A.D. 1576, who left behind him five folio volumes, chiefly filled with dialogues, comedies, and tragedies, however, surpassed all the rest. He was a friend of Luther, was replete

with talent, and unshackled by prejudice. Biblical and universal history, ancient mythology and German legend, every-day life and allegory, were the rich materials on which he worked; but in his pieces the scenes follow with startling rapidity, the dialogue is comparatively meagre, and the whole more resembles a rapid succession of tableaux-vivans than a play. With the exception of the little and generally highly-finished farces and dialogues, which contain but few characters, all his great historical pieces are simply sketches; their happy choice and management, and the charm that ever lay in the subject, whether the composition were more or less elaborate, rendered them, nevertheless, highly popular. Sachs had numerous imitators, the most celebrated of whom, toward the close of the sixteenth century, was Jacob Ayrer of Nuremberg, who, however, shared the increasing grossness of the taste of the times and delighted in scenes of blood and obscenity (Opus Theatricum, 1618). Henry Julius, the poetical duke of Brunswick, his contemporary, greatly advanced the German stage.—Political comedies also took the place of the carnival farces in the republican-spirited imperial free towns. The depravity of the courts was, for instance, derided in the "Court Devil," the scholastics, in the "Academical Devil," the sale of dispensations, in the "Tetzelocramia," the intemperance and immorality of German manners at that period, in the "German Glutton." National history was also brought upon the stage. The "Siege of Weinsberg," or "Woman's Faith"; "Luther's Life"; the "Christian Knight of Eisleben"; the "Muntzer Peasant War"; the "Clausensturm," or "The Victory of the Elector Maurice over the Emperor"; and a tragedy, "Wallenstein and Gustavus," were represented. The Lutherans ridiculed the Calvinists in a "Calvinistic Post-boy." During the thirty years' war, the promotion of unity among the Protestants was attempted by a "Swedish Treaty"; and, in 1647, "Peace-wishing Germany," an intimation to the ambassadors at Osnabruck and Munster to accelerate the proclamation of peace, was publicly represented. Pastoral poetry, in imita-

tion of Guarini, the Italian poet, who had followed in the footsteps of Theocritus, was, at that period, also generally cultivated, the imagination, in those warlike and disturbed times, dwelling with delight on ideal scenes of innocence and peace. The German stage was, however, unfortunately neglected on that account by the most distinguished literati of the day. The celebrated Frischlin, Naogeorg, and other savants of the sixteenth century composed elegant Latin plays.

External life lost much of its former beauty. The mode of dress became more and more bizarre and foreign. The Spaniard introduced the stiff collar and pointed hat; the Swiss, puffs, plaits, and slashes; and the Frenchman, the allonge peruke, an ell in length.

The fine creations of Gothic architecture remained in an unfinished state. The religious enthusiasm that had founded those wondrous edifices had died away before their completion. The mighty Cologne cathedral stood incomplete; of the Strasburg minster one tower had been finished in 1439 by John Hulz, the other was forsaken. Ulm cathedral shared the same fate. Merely the richest towns, particularly those in the Netherlands, completed their unfinished churches; and, under the pious Habsburgs, the great tower of St. Stephen at Vienna was first begun, in 1407, by Anton Pilgram. The second tower is still unbuilt. The taste for building passed away with the Reformation; more zeal was displayed in robbing and destroying, than in raising, churches. The church had become the slave of the court, and the faithful Jesuits were, by court favor, alone in a position to build great temples and palaces in a bad Italian style, devoid of sublimity or harmony, which was also adopted in the castles of the princes.

Painting rose as architecture declined. Human nature and earthly objects were studied instead of the supernatural and divine. In the Netherlands, in the commencement of the fifteenth century, John van Eyck, the inventor of oil-painting, and his brother Hubert, surpassed all the artists

of their time. Besides depth and strength of coloring, they first gave increased life to their figures and richness to their groups. These brothers were succeeded by Hans Hemling, an artist of great merit; in the sixteenth century, by Schoreel, Lucas von Leyden, and Quintin Messis, a smith, who, for love of an artist's daughter, studied her father's art, in which he attained great excellence. A high German school, closely allied with the Dutch, and in which Albert Durer in Nuremberg, A.D. 1508, Hans Holbein in Basel, A.D. 1554, and gentle Lucas Cranach, the stanch friend of the true-hearted elector of Saxony, A.D. 1553, surpassed all other contemporary artists, was formed at this period. The religious feeling of the age is impressed on the productions of all these artists, and the epic character of the pictures of earlier date, which, crowded with innumerable dwarf-like forms, contained, like the earlier theatrical representations, a whole history from beginning to end, was gradually lost.

Painting on glass was also carried to perfection in the fifteenth century. This art was cultivated exclusively in Germany, more particularly in the Netherlands, whence the artists were summoned to adorn the dark domes of other countries with their magic creations. Franz was, in 1436, sent for from Lubeck for the purpose of ornamenting the churches of Florence with painted glass.

When art flourished at Nuremberg, when Hans Sachs sang and Durer painted, sculpture was raised to a higher degree of perfection by Kraft and Peter Vischer.

The religious struggle had been unfavorable to art. What the iconoclast had respected had, during the thirty years' war, almost without exception, been destroyed by the soldiery. The wealthy Dutch alone cultivated art, but their style had become entirely profane, and, generally speaking, vulgar. Nature suddenly threw off the shackles imposed by the church. The great artist, Peter Paul Rubens, A.D. 1640, took his models from life, gave warmth and vigor to his coloring, and preferred battle-pieces and voluptuous scenes.

Although the founder of the profane Flemish school, he surpasses all his successors in vigor and warmth.

The art of engraving was invented about the middle of the fifteenth century, it is uncertain whether in Italy or Germany. Israel of Mechlin was one of the first engravers; to him succeeded Martin Schœn; the celebrated painter, Albert Durer, was also distinguished as an engraver, besides Golzius, Muller, Vischer, etc., and Merian.

A school of music as well as of painting, the precursor to the great Italian school of the sixteenth century, was founded in the Netherlands in the fifteenth century. The greatest master was John Ockeghem (Ockenheim), who died at a great age, in 1513. He greatly improved counterpoint composition. Besides him, Jacob Hobrecht and Bernhardt the German, who, in 1470, invented the pedal to the organ, flourished at Venice. Since their time, numbers of German musicians crossed the Alps and taught the Italians, as, for instance, Henry the German (Arrigo Tedesco), chapel-director to Maximilian I. In Germany, Adam of Fulda, Hermann Fink, and the blind Paulmann, flourished at Nuremberg. In the commencement of the sixteenth century, the Dutchman, Adrian Willaert, greatly advanced the art by his compositions on a more extensive scale for voices, the first step toward the opera. Italy was, however, again the scene of this triumph, and, shortly afterward, Palestrina raised sacred music, and Montaverde that of the opera, to their present state, and the merit of their German teachers was obscured by the brilliancy of their fame. Good masters were, notwithstanding, not wanting in Germany. Luther promoted church music, and the princes patronized the opera. In 1628, Sagittarius (Schutz) composed the first German opera, "Daphne," a translation from the Italian, for the elector of Saxony. The German courts were at this period overrun with Italian singers and chapel-directors.

CCXX. *Histories and Travels*

THE discovery of the art of printing had, as early as the fifteenth century, given a great impulse to historical writing. The monk no longer wrote in his lonely cell; the princes took historiographers into their service for the purpose of handing down their deeds to posterity or of eternalizing the renown of their house and of defending its claims; the cities luxuriated in their great records, and history was begun to be taught as a science at the universities.

Universal Chronicles were written in the fourteenth century by John von Winterthur and Albert of Strasburg; in the fifteenth, by Engelhusen, Edward Dynter, an Englishman, author of the celebrated Chron. Belgicum Magnum, Gobelimus Persona, Werner Rolewink, John ab Indagine (agen), Schedel, Steinhœvel, Nauclerus, Cuspinianus; in the sixteenth, by Amandus von Ziriksee and Sebastian Frank, the Anabaptist. The last Universal Chronicle, ornamented with engravings, a popular work, was written by Gottfried. The first systematic Manual of Universal History, the celebrated Carionis Chronicon, also appeared. Megerlein of Basel treated universal history in a religious point of view; Boxhorn, the Dutchman, in a political one. Reineccius of Helmstædt, the first historical critic, introduced the mode of historical writing, of encumbering the text with notes and citations, that was afterward generally adopted.—The collections of old historical works also began in the sixteenth century, the Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, the first by Hervagius, the Basel printer, A.D. 1532, which was followed by those of Schardius, Reuberus, Pistorius, Urstisius (Wurstisen), and Lindenbrog; in the seventeenth century, by those of Goldast, who wrote the history of Swabia and on the affairs of the empire, and Freher, who also reviewed all the German historians. Separate portions of the earlier histories were also revised. Trithemius, the abbot of Hirsau, besides writing the Chronicle of his monas-

tery, important in reference to the history of Swabia, threw great light upon the earlier history of the Franks. In the fifteenth century, Ruxner wrote the great Tournament Book, whence may be collected a history of the different noble houses of Germany; in the seventeenth, Zinkgreff published an amusing collection of historical anecdotes, Apophthegmata, or witty German sayings.

Notwithstanding the numerous historians of the times, the accounts of the most important events remained buried in the archives. Theodore von Niem produced a biography of the pope, John XXIII. Ulric von Reichenthal, Gebhard Dacher, and Vrie wrote upon the council of Constance; Uttenheim, upon that of Basel; Windec wrote the Life of Sigmund; Boregk and Hageck, Petrus Abbas, de Weitmuhl, the History of Bohemia; Theobald, Cochlæus, Brzezina, in particular, on the Hussite war. The writings of Æneas Sylvius supply rich matter for history, particularly the long reign of Frederick III.; Grumbech also gave an account of this emperor, and Eitelwolf von Stein one of the Venetian war. On being complimented for his fine description of this war, he replied, "If only it had been better conducted!" Pirkheimer wrote on the Swiss war. The histories of Charles V. and of the commencement of the Reformation have been most ably penned by Sleidanus von Sleida. Seckendorf and Chytræus treated of the diet of Augsburg and the Augsburg Confession; Spalatinus, of the share taken by Saxony in the Reformation. The autobiographies of Gœtz von Berlichingen and Sebastian Schertlin are highly worthy of remark, as well as von Reisner's Life of George von Frundsberg. The most important histories of the sixteenth century are those of Paulus Jovius, Perizonius, Surius, and the celebrated Frenchman Thuanus (du Thou). The thirty years' war found numerous commentators, all of whom, however, are silent as to the most important facts. The principal works on this period are: the Annales Ferdinandei, by Count Khevenhiller; the Swedish War, by Chemnitz; the Theatrum Europæum, commenced by Gottfried; the history

Persecutionis Bohemicæ, the "History of the League," the "Laurel Wreath of War," Le Soldat Suedois of Spanheim, Burgi Mars Sueo-Germanicus, Arlanisaei arma Suecica, Gualdo, Lotichius, Lundorpius, Piasecius, Langwitzer, and Waffenberg, who surnamed himself the German Florus. On Frederick of Bohemia, see Eblanius and the French Memoirs of Fontenoy; on Ferdinand II., the Status Regni Ferd. and Father Lamormain; on Wallenstein, Priorato and the Perduellonis Chaos; on Tilly, Liborius Vulturnus; on Gustavus Adolphus, Burgus, Hallenberg, and the contemporary Swedish historians. Volmar wrote the Diary of the Peace of Westphalia. As early as the sixteenth century, Hasenmuller had written a History of the Jesuits. There were, moreover, innumerable pamphleteers.

The greater portion of historical works and by far the most important among them were the provincial histories. On Austria, in the sixteenth century, wrote Wolfgang Lazius, De Roo, Cuspinianus (Spiesshammer), Fugger, the author of the Austrian Mirror of Chivalry, Pesel, that of the Siege of Vienna.—On Bavaria, in the fourteenth century, Volcmar; in the fifteenth, Aventinus (Thurnmayer), Andreas Presbyter, an unknown chronicler in Pollingen, an analist of Tegernsee and Hoffman; in the sixteenth, Welser, Hund, Raderus (Bavaria sacra); in the seventeenth, Brunner and Adlzreiter (Vervaux). On the Tyrol, in the fourteenth century, Goswin; in the sixteenth, Kirchmayr; during the thirty years' war, Burglechner (The Tyrolean Eagle), Maximilian, Count von Mohr, and two brothers, Barons von Wolkenstein.—On Swabia appeared, besides Goldast's Collection of German Historians, in the fifteenth century, Lyrer's fabulous Swabian Chronicle, a History of Augsburg by Gossenprot, and one of the city of Ellwangen; in the sixteenth century, Crusius's great Swabian Chronicle, a History of Augsburg by Gosser, another of the city of Constance by Manlius, and Bebel's Praise of Swabia.—On Switzerland wrote, in the fifteenth century, Hæmmerlin and Etterlyn, Frickhard published "The Struggle with the Despots," Schil-

ling, his admirable account of the Burgundian War, and Justinger, the Bernese Chronicle, continued by Tschachtlan; in the sixteenth century, appeared the great Chronicles of Tschudi and Stumpf, a History of Berne by Eysat, of St. Gall by Vadianus, of the Grisons by Anhorn, Pachaly, and Guler von Weineck, of Basel by Wurstisen, and a Chronicle by Stettler.—On the History of Franconia, we find, in the fourteenth century, Riedefel's Chronicle of Hesse, Kœnigshoven's Alsace, Gensbein's admirably written Limburg Chronicle, the celebrated account of the Holy City of Cologne, printed in 1499; and, in the seventeenth century, the good Chronicle of Spires by Lehmann, and an excellent work upon Treves by Browerus.

In respect to the history of the Netherlands, appeared the writings of Olivier de la Marche, Castellarius, Heuterus and Plancher on Burgundy, those of de Smet and Meyerus on Flanders, of Haræus on Brabant, of Snoi and Scriverius on Holland. The war of liberation in the Netherlands has been related by Bor, Reydt, Leo ab Aitzema, Meteren, van Hooft, Strada, Guicciardini, and Bentivoglio.—Beninga, Ubbo Emmius, and Siccama, who published the Laws of Ancient Friesland, wrote upon that country, and, in the sixteenth century, Neocorus published a History of the Ditmarses. The principal works upon Lower Saxony were, in the fourteenth century, the Chronicle of Hermann Cornerus of Lubeck; in the fifteenth, Botho's Chronicles of the Sassen, and Albert Crantz's Saxonia et Vandalia; in the sixteenth, the History of Detmar and Reimar by Koch of Lubeck, that of Cleves by Teschenmacher, that of Brunswick in the fifteenth century; that of Stadtwig by Propendyk and the Luneburg Chronicle. Pomarius, Reineccius, and Meibomius were the historiographers of Upper Saxony; Albinus and Broutuff wrote upon Misnia in the sixteenth century, Spangenberg upon Mansfeld, Torquatus and Pomarius (Baumgarten) upon Magdeburg.—In the fifteenth century, appeared Von Rothe's admirable Chronicle of Thuringia. In the sixteenth century, Eisenlober of Breslau published a History of Silesia,

and in the seventeenth, Schickfuss and Henelius. On Mecklenburg, see Mylius's History in the sixteenth century, Hederich's History of Schwerin, and Lindenbrog's of Rostock. On Pomerania, see Kanzaw's fine Chronicle, a work by Bugenhagen, an excellent Chronicle of Stralsund by Berkmann; in the seventeenth century, the History of Pomerania by Micrælius. On Prussia, in the fifteenth century, see John von Lindenblatt; in the sixteenth, Runovius, Caspar Schutz, and Lucas David.—On Livonia, in the thirteenth century, Ditleb von Altneke; in the sixteenth, Russowen and Hiærne; in the seventeenth, Strauch and Menius. Kelch wrote a Chronicle of Dorpat. Petrejus's History of Moscow may also be included.

The German travellers who enriched Germany with their descriptions of distant parts of the globe next come under consideration. The Holy Land was at first diligently explored. Rauwolf, Baumgarten, Breuning von Buchenbach, and Porsius, who wrote an account of a Persian war in verse, penetrated, in the sixteenth century, further eastward, some of them as far as Persia; in the seventeenth century, Gentius examined all the libraries in Constantinople and for the first time translated Saadi's Gulistan from the Persian; there were also Olearius, the Holstein ambassador, who crossed Russia to Persia, Troilo, and Strauss. Peter Heyling of Lubeck penetrated into Abyssinia, where he married a near relative of the king, and, in 1647, translated the Gospel of St. John into the Amhar tongue.—At the close of the sixteenth century, the Dutch first circumnavigated the world, Van Noort in 1598, Schouten in 1615, etc. They were accompanied by other Germans, who often gave an account of their voyages to the world, as, for instance, George von Spielberg in 1614, and Deker of Strasburg in 1626. These voyages round the world became, in the seventeenth century, regular commercial trips to the East Indies; see, for instance, those of Van der Brock, Matelief, Bonteku, Saar, etc. Numerous other German travellers, Wurfbain of Nuremberg, a Baron von Mandelslohe from Mecklenburg, von Boy of Frankfort, Merk-

lin, Kirwitzer, Vogel, and Ziegenbalk also visited the East. The German Jesuits also penetrated as far as China, where they gained many converts, and, by their adroitness, the favor of the lord of the Celestial Empire. The first of that order who visited China was Adam Schall, the most celebrated, Verbiest, A.D. 1668. John Gruber published an account of China in 1661.

One of the most distinguished of the great western discoverers was Martin Behaim of Nuremberg, who enjoyed great repute as a mathematician at the court of John, king of Portugal, improved the astrolabe for the use of mariners, and was a friend of Columbus, whose faith in the existence of a continent in the West he greatly tended to strengthen. Behaim made voyages of discovery to the African coast, was knighted by the king, and became a wealthy landed proprietor in the island of Fayal, one of the Azores, by a marriage with the daughter of a Dutchman, Jobst von Hurter, who held that island in fee, and founded there the city named after him, Villa da Horto. One of Behaim's globes is still shown at Nuremberg.—The new continent discovered by Columbus received the name of America in Germany, from a certain Waldseemuller of Freiburg in the Breisgau, who studied geography at St. Dié in Lorraine, under the protection of the Duke Réné, and, ignorant of the existence of Columbus, published four voyages of Amerigo Vespucci, whose name acquired celebrity as that of the discoverer of the new continent, before the Spaniards became aware of the circumstance.[1]—Shortly after the discovery of the sea passage to the East Indies, and after that of America, some wealthy Augsburg merchants made great commercial trips thither. The Fuggers, as early as 1505, sent a fleet to Calicut in the East Indies. In 1528, the Welsers sent another to explore the western coasts of America, hitherto uninvestigated, and their servant, Dalfinger of Ulm, became the

[1] Vespucci was totally ignorant of the honor that had been paid to him. He was a man of unpretending character, extremely devoted to Columbus, from whose merit he was far from wishful to detract. Waldseemüller cannot either be blamed, for he had never heard of Columbus.—*Humboldt.*

founder and the first governor of Valparaiso. Bartholemy Welser, grandfather to the celebrated Philippina, was invested by the emperor Charles V. with the eastern coast of America, in return for a loan of twelve tons of gold. Dalfinger, hearing that an immense palace of pure gold had been built in the interior of the country, went in search of it, during his visit exercised unheard-of cruelties upon the natives, and was, on his return, slain by a poisoned arrow. Almost the whole of his followers fell victims to the Indians and to the climate. The Welser, nevertheless, retained possession of Chili until the German colony was driven out by the Spanish.—Philip von Hutten of Swabia and George of Spires, whose accounts are still extant, assisted at the same time to conquer Mexico; Schmidel of Straubing, who published his extraordinary adventures, aided in raising Buenos Ayres, 1535. The account given by the Jesuit, Strobel, of his sojourn among the Patagonians, at the southernmost point of America, is equally interesting. Marggravius wrote an account of the natural wonders of the Brazils, A.D. 1644, and Appollonius another of Florida and Peru. Fritz, the German Jesuit, drew out, in 1690, an excellent map of the river Amazon, where he established the first mission of his order.

The study of geography was, in the fifteenth century, greatly promoted by Schweinheim of Mayence, whose charts were published, A.D. 1478, by Bucking, in a Ptolemæan edition at Rome. They are the first printed maps on record. Martin Behaim's globe and maps of the world were anterior to the discovery of America. The sixteenth century boasted of Apianus (Bienewitz) Gemma, Loritus, Sebastian Munster, but above all, of the Dutchman, Mercator, who introduced the division of maps into degrees; the seventeenth, of Cluver of Dantzig, who greatly facilitated the study of ancient geography. Merian, the indefatigable engraver of Basel, A.D. 1651, who published copious accounts of the principal countries of Europe, adorned with copper-plates, was the best topographer of the age.

FOURTH PERIOD

MODERN TIMES

PART XX

THE AGE OF LOUIS THE FOURTEENTH

CCXXI. *Louis the Fourteenth*

THE century subsequent to the peace of Westphalia is distinguished as the age of Louis the Fourteenth, that monarch being the sun by which it was illumined, and whose splendor was reflected by all the courts of Europe. The first revolution against the Middle Ages was accomplished in him, by his subjection of the interests of the aristocratic and inferior classes beneath his despotic rule. He said with truth "l'etat c'est moi," for entire France, the country and the people, their arms, and even their thoughts, were his. The sole object of the whole nation was to do the will of their sovereign; "car tel est notre plaisir" was the usual termination to his commands. The magnificent chateau of Versailles, the abode of this terrestrial deity, was peopled with mistresses and a countless troop of parasites, on whom the gold drawn from the impoverished and oppressed people was lavished. The nobility and clergy, long subject to their lord and king, shared the license of the court and formed a numerous band of courtiers, while men of the lower classes, whose superior parts had brought them into note, were attached as philosophers, poets, and

artists, to the court, the monarch extending his patronage to every art and science prostituted by flattery.

The French court, although externally Catholic, was solely guided by the tenets of the new philosophy, which were spread over the rest of the world by the sonnets of anacreontic poets and the bonmots of court savants. This philosophy set forth that egotism was the only quality natural to man, that virtues were but feigned, or, when real, ridiculous. Freedom from the ancient prejudices of honor or religion, and carelessness in the choice of means for the attainment of an object, were regarded as proofs of genius. Immorality was the necessary accompaniment of talent. Virtue implied stupidity; the grossest license, the greatest wit. Vice became the mode, was publicly displayed and admired. The first duty imposed upon knighthood, the protection of innocence, was exchanged for seduction, adultery, or nightly orgies, and the highest ambition of the prince, the courtier or the officer was to enrich the *chronique scandaleuse* with his name. A courtier's honor consisted in breaking his word, in deceiving maidens and cheating creditors, in contracting enormous debts and in boasting of their remaining unpaid, etc.; nor was this demoralization confined to private life. The cabinet of Versailles, in its treatment of all the European powers, followed the rules of this modern philosophy, as shown in the conduct of the Parisian cavalier toward the citizens, their wives and daughters, by the practice of rudeness, seduction, robbery, and every dishonorable art. It treated laws, treaties, and truth with contempt, and ever insisted upon its own infallibility.

The doctrine that a prince can do no wrong had a magical effect upon the other sovereigns of Europe; Louis XIV. became their model, and the object to which most of them aspired, the attainment, like him, of deification upon earth. Even Germany, impoverished and weakened by her recent struggle, was infected with this universal mania, and, A.D. 1656, John George II. began to act the part of a miniature Louis XIV., in starving and desolate Saxony. A splendid

guard, a household on a more extensive scale, sumptuous fêtes, grandes battues, lion-hunts, theatricals, Italian operas (a new mode, for which singers were, at great expense, imported from Italy), regattas and fireworks on the Elbe, the formation of expensive cabinets of art and of museums, were to raise the elector of Saxony on a par with the great sovereign of France, and, in 1660, the state becoming in consequence bankrupt, the wretched Estates were compelled to wrest the sums required to supply the pleasures of the prince from his suffering people. To him succeeded, A.D. 1680, John George III., who spent all he possessed on his troops; then, A.D. 1691, John George IV., who reigned until 1694, and whose mistress, Sibylla von Neidschutz, reigned conjointly with her mother over the country and plundered the people, while his minister, Count von Hoymb, openly carried on a system of robbery and extortion.—In Bavaria, A.D. 1679, Ferdinand Maria followed the example of Saxony. The miseries endured by the people during the thirty years' war were forgotten by the elector, who erected Schleisheim (Little Versailles), and Nymphenburg (Little Marly), and gave theatrical entertainments and fêtes, according to the French mode.—He lived in most extraordinary splendor. Two hundredweight and nineteen pounds of gold were expended on the embroidery alone of his bed of state. His consort, Adelheid, a daughter of Victor Amadeus of Savoy, an extremely bigoted princess, surpassed his extravagance in her gifts to the churches. She long remained childless, and, on the birth of that traitor to Germany, Maximilian Emanuel, caused the celebrated Theatin church at Munich to be built by an Italian architect. She died before its completion, and it was consequently finished on a less magnificent scale than the original plan.

Ancient Spanish dignity was still maintained in the old imperial house. Ferdinand III. closed the wounds inflicted by the thirty years' war, and zealously endeavored, at the diet held at Nuremberg, A.D. 1653, to regulate the affairs of the empire, the imperial chamber, etc.; but life could no

longer be breathed into the dead body of the state, and no emperor, since Ferdinand, has since presided in person over the diet.—This monarch fell sick and died shortly after of fright, occasioned by the fall of one of his guards, who had snatched up the youngest prince in order to save him from a fire that had burst out in the emperor's chamber. He was succeeded by his son, Leopold "with the thick lip," who was then in his eighteenth year. This prince, whose principal amusement during his childhood had been the erection of miniature altars, the adornment of figures and pictures of saints, etc., had, under the tuition of the Jesuit Neidhart, grown up a melancholy bigot, stiff, unbending, punctilious, and grave, devoid of life or energy.

The advantages gained by Louis XIV., by the treaty of Westphalia, merely inspired him with a desire for the acquisition of still greater. He even speculated upon gaining possession of the imperial throne, and, with that intent, bribed several of the princes, the elector, Charles Louis, of the Pfalz (who was at that time enraged at the loss of the Upper Pfalz, and, consequently, lent a willing ear to the perfidious counsels of France), with a gift of one hundred and ten thousand dollars, and Bavaria, Cologne, and Mayence, with sums similar in amount. Saxony and Brandenburg, however, withstood the temptation, and the German crown was rescued from the disgrace of adorning the brow of a foreign despot, of Germany's most inveterate foe, to be placed on Leopold's peruke, a miserable substitute for the golden locks of the Hohenstaufen.

Louis, in revenge, formed, A.D. 1658, an anti-imperial confederacy, the Lower Rhenish alliance. John Philip von Schœnborn, elector of Mayence and archchancellor of the empire, and his influential minister, Boineburg, who, bribed by every court, played a double game, were particularly active in forwarding his views, and conscientiously compensated France for the part they had taken in the election of the emperor, by the Rhenish confederation. The elector of Cologne, the bishop of Munster, the princes of Brunswick-

Luneburg and Hesse-Cassel were equally regardless of their honor, and with Eberhard of Wurtemberg (notwithstanding the opposition of his patriotic provincial Estates) countenanced the predatory schemes of the French monarch. The conduct of the Guelphs at that period was still more notoriously base. The sons of George von Luneburg, who had succeeded him in Calenberg and Gœttingen, and their uncle, Frederick, A.D. 1648, in Luneburg-Celle, divided these provinces between them, the eldest, Christian Louis, taking Luneburg-Celle, the second, George William, Calenberg-Gœttingen. The latter was generally out of the country, in Italy or in France, where he imbibed all the vices of the court of Versailles. Both the brothers were drawn over to the Gallo-papal party by their third brother, John Frederick, who made a public profession of Catholicism at Assisi and held a conference with his elder brothers, A.D. 1652, in Perugia. In 1665, he came to Germany and received Hanover, in exchange, from George William. The Catholic form of service was instantly re-established. The Hanoverian Estates were dismissed with the words, "I am emperor in my territories." He received a monthly pension from France of ten thousand dollars. The fourth brother,[1] Ernest Augustus, who afterward succeeded to the whole of the family possessions, was the only one faithful to the imperial cause. The object of the Rhenish alliance was to hinder the emperor from interfering with the projects of France upon the Spanish Netherlands, and with those of Sweden upon Brandenburg. The attention of the youthful emperor was, moreover, also at the instigation of France, occupied with a fresh attack on the part of Turkey. Louis had thus spread his net on all sides.

His first acquisition was a portion of the Netherlands, which he annexed, A.D. 1653, to France. The war between

[1] When a poor prince, he married, A.D. 1658, Sophia, the daughter of the winter-king, Frederick, and of the beautiful Elisabeth Stuart, whose brother, Charles I., was beheaded. And yet Ernest Augustus inherited the whole of the possessions of his childless brothers, and his son, George, shortly afterward mounted the throne of England.

France and Spain had been renewed with great vigor in 1653. The great Condé, at that time at strife with the still omnipotent minister, Mazarin, and supported by the Duke of Lorraine, had rebelled, had been defeated by Turenne, and had fled to the Netherlands, where he fought at the head of the Spaniards (as once Charles de Bourbon) against his countrymen. His invasion of Picardy was checked by Turenne. Spain robbed herself of a faithful confederate in Charles of Lorraine, who lived riotously at Brussels, where he gained such popularity as to excite the jealousy of the Spanish authorities; this greatly diverted him, and he purposely gave them offence, upon which Count Fuendelsagna, forgetful of the fidelity with which he had long served against France, caused him to be arrested and to be sent to Spain, A.D. 1654. Louis instantly rose in his defence, attacked the Netherlands and entered into alliance with Cromwell, who was then at the head of the English republic, against Spain. Condé was victorious at Valenciennes, A.D. 1656, but the empire offered no aid to the Netherlands. The French besieged Dunkirk (which had fallen into their hands in 1646 and had been again ceded by the treaty of Westphalia) for England, as the price of Cromwell's alliance; Condé attempted to relieve the city, but was surprised and defeated by Turenne in the dams, A.D. 1658. The treaty of the Pyrenees followed, by which Arras, Hesdin, and other towns were ceded to France, the Infanta, Maria Theresa of Spain, was given in marriage to Louis, with a dowry of three hundred thousand crowns of gold, and the Duke of Lorraine, who naturally ever afterward sided with France, was restored to liberty. Dunkirk fell to England, but, on Cromwell's death, was purchased by Louis from Charles II. and strongly garrisoned with French; and Dunkirk,[1] as the name proves, a genuinely German

[1] The *Dünen*, or dams, are high, broad walls of sand that protect the damp bank against the violence of the waves. Stakes are run into the ground, and osiers, branches, and wisps of straw are woven between them. The sea-sand gradually settles in the interstices, and a second layer is then raised. Sea-grass, which quickly springs up and binds the sand with its roots, is then sown on the wall top.

town, the western frontier town on the Northern Ocean, with its splendid harbor, was thus lost to Germany and sold by one foreign sovereign to another.

In Sweden, the Queen Christina, a voluptuous and fantastical woman, had, from vanity and a love of eccentricity, turned Catholic, voluntarily abdicated, A.D. 1654, in favor of Charles Gustavus, prince of Pfalz-Zweibrucken-Birkenfeld, who had, during the thirty years' war, acquired great popularity among the Swedes, and fixed her residence at Rome. On reaching Innsbruck, on her way thither, she unblushingly made a public profession of Catholicism. She entered Rome in a triumphal procession, borne in a sumptuous litter, accompanied by the archdukes, Ferdinand Charles and Sigmund Francis, on horseback; the papal legate, who had come to meet her in order to welcome her to the bosom of the holy church, was an adventurer from Hamburg, named Lucas Holstein. She afterward laid her crown and sceptre on the shrine of the Virgin at Loretto, observing of her crown, as she did so, "Ne mi bisogna, ne mi basta." On the death of Charles Gustavus she attempted to reascend the Swedish throne.

Charles Gustavus, ambitious of earning a fame equal to that of his great predecessor, Gustavus Adolphus, immediately on his accession declared war against Poland, but had scarcely landed ere the Russians, under their Grandduke Michael, invaded Livonia. Dantzig resisted the Swedes, while Riga, the natural maritime city of Poland, with which she was closely allied by her material interests, made a valiant defence against the Russians, who, being finally compelled to raise the siege, revenged their disgrace by treating the country people with the most atrocious cruelty. Women and children were roasted alive, mutilated, and spitted on pikes, etc.

Courland was garrisoned by Charles Gustavus, who advanced into Poland. Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg, actuated by a hope of gaining possession of Swedish Pomerania, at first aided Casimir of Poland, but

fortune no sooner declared in favor of Sweden than the wily elector ranged himself on that side and assisted Charles Gustavus in defeating the Poles near Warsaw, immediately after which he again offered peace and his alliance to Casimir on condition of that monarch's relinquishing his feudal right over the duchy of Prussia. A treaty was concluded, A.D. 1657, to this effect at Welau, and the elector, in order to secure himself from the vengeance of the Swedes, incited the Danes and Dutch to attack them and entered into alliance with the emperor, Leopold, who despatched General Montecuculi to his aid, and the new allies took possession of Swedish Pomerania, while Charles Gustavus crossed the Belt on the ice (two companies alone were drowned), besieged Copenhagen and compelled Denmark to sign a treaty of peace, A.D. 1658, which, on his return, was instantly infringed, Denmark finding a new and potent ally in Holland, which beheld the naval power of Sweden with jealousy, and whose victorious fleet, commanded by de Ruyter, forced its way through the Sound and almost annihilated that of Sweden under the eye of the king, who viewed the engagement from the fortress of Kronenburg. This disaster proved fatal to him. The treaty of Oliva was concluded shortly after his death, A.D. 1660. The terms of this treaty were, notwithstanding, favorable to Sweden and prove the respect universally felt for her power, Livonia, Esthonia, and Œsel remaining in her possession and the great elector being compelled to relinquish Swedish Pomerania. Charles Gustavus had also succeeded in separating the Gottorp branch of the Danish (Oldenburg) house from the royal line of Denmark. Christian Albert, duke of Schleswig-Holstein, formerly vassal to his cousin, the Danish monarch, raised himself, with Sweden's aid, to sovereign power.

The Rhenish alliance, against which Frederick William had energetically and publicly protested, was invalidated by the conclusion of peace. Frederick William, in his manifesto, called upon the Germans to protect Poland "as one of the bulwarks of the empire." His actions, however, little

accorded with his words—he aided to ruin that country for the sake of a trifling advantage.

France, increasing in her endeavors to disturb the peace of Germany, again incited Turkey to the attack, and, A.D. 1663, the grand vizier, Kiuprili, penetrated as far as Olmutz in Moravia, laying the country waste as he advanced. Fortune had, however, given the emperor an admirable general in Montecuculi, by whom the Turkish army was completely routed in a pitched battle near St. Gotthard, A.D. 1664. Montecuculi's favorite saying was, "Three things alone insure victory, gold, gold, gold!" and by this means he certainly succeeded in enchaining her to his banner.

CCXXII. *The Swiss Peasant War*

THE thirty years' war had excited the passions of the Swiss without producing any immediate or open demonstration. The wealth brought for security into the Alps by the innumerable German refugees had introduced luxuries among the mountaineers, which were favored by the more speculative inhabitants of the cities, who lent the peasant money on his land, and, by making him their debtor, and, consequently, personally dependent, destroyed his political liberty. On the termination of the thirty years' war and the consequent return of the German refugees to their native country, money became gradually more scarce, and the situation of the peasantry more deplorable. Jacob Wagenmann of Sursee wrote at this period, "consequently, driven to despair, war appeared to them to offer the only means by which they could at once and completely wipe off their debts. A pretext was not long wanting. They declared that the provincial governors were too severe, which was sometimes the case, and that the laws favored the interests of their rulers more than justice and the public weal." The people of Entlibuch, who were dependent on Lucerne, and those of the Emmenthal, who were subservient to Berne, were, moreover, jealous of the privileges enjoyed by their nearest neighbors in Unter-

walden and Schwyz, to which they claimed, owing to their similarity in descent and occupation and their close vicinity, an equal right. The prevalence of this feeling among the people was apparent on the first appearance of the Entlibuch insurgents, who were headed by three athletic men, dressed in the ancient costume, as Walther Furst, Stauffacher, and Melchthal.

The revolt broke out, A.D. 1653, in Entlibuch, on Emmenegger's protest against the depreciation of the small coin, and on the threat of Krebsinger, the president of the council of Berne, "that he would place five hundred invulnerable Italians on the necks of the rebellious peasantry." The outrages committed by the soldiery during the thirty years' war were still fresh in the minds of the people, and the impression produced by this threat is therefore easily conceivable. The first outburst of their rage was vented on the Lucerne bailiffs, whom they expelled the valley. They then flew to arms and struck such terror into the citizens that messengers of peace were instantly sent to recall them to obedience and to represent to them that "their authority was from God," to which Krummenacher, a powerful-looking peasant, growled out in reply, "Yes, it is from God, when you act justly, but from the devil when you act with injustice." The city made some concessions and a reconciliation took place. The aristocracy of Berne, ever on the alert, had, meanwhile, prepared for war, and, by their overcaution, drew upon themselves the calamity they sought to avoid; the Bernese arrier-ban refusing to take the field against the people of Entlibuch, and their disobedience affording the Bernese peasantry an opportunity for revolt. Two parties, the Moderates (*Linden*), and the Radicals (*Harten*), sprang up; the latter formed themselves into a provincial assembly, and placed Niklaus Leuenberg, a man of great eloquence, at their head. The aristocracy of Basel now committed a blunder similar to that of Berne by sending five hundred soldiers across the Jura to Aargau. Their numbers, increased by rumor, spread terror through the country; the Aargau rose

in self-defence and gained an easy victory. Berne was, notwithstanding, restored to tranquillity by the intervention of the confederation. Some disturbances also took place in Solothurn, where the government willingly made concessions. Basel granted the demands of the insurgent peasantry of Liestal, and peace and confidence were apparently restored on all sides.

The contest, however, broke out afresh. Wagenmann, the peasants' foe, relates, that "the village magnates of Entlibuch, whose authority had lasted two months, resolved not to part with the power they had gained. The people of Willisau declared that they had been unable, owing to the trumpets having been sounded purposely at the moment when the treaty was read, clearly to comprehend the purport of its fifth article, by which all offices were placed in the gift of the government," and a proclamation published at the same time by the deliberative council, in which the peasants were designated as rebels, and charged with the whole blame, rendered them extremely distrustful of the sincerity of their governments in subscribing to the articles of peace, and the aristocracy in all the cantons being apparently ranged in opposition to them, the whole of the peasantry confederated and invited their brethren in all the cantons, without reference to religion, to assemble on the 23d of April, 1653, in the forest of Sumis in the canton of Berne. Leuenberg was, against his will, compelled to preside over the meeting. Their first object, an alliance with the ancient confederated peasantry in the original cantons, failed; the haughty peasants of Uri refusing to have aught in common with the herdsmen of Entlibuch. Leuenberg's despatches were scornfully returned.

The dread of the arrival of foreign troops now revived with redoubled force, and the apprehensions of the peasantry being strengthened by the discovery of some grenades on board a vessel, laden with ironware, seized by them on the Aar, they took up arms, in order to defend themselves against their imaginary foes.

The governments, hereupon, prepared in earnest for opposition, and, taking advantage of a letter addressed by the French ambassador to Leuenberg, in which he declared him responsible in case the Austrians seized the opportunity, presented by the disturbed state of the country, to cross the frontier, converted the question, until now simply internal and aristocratic, into an external and patriotic one, and designated the peasants, not as foes to the aristocracy, but as traitors to their country. The peasants, half-conscious of being outwitted, were, consequently, more highly infuriated, and war was rendered inevitable by the formidable preparations made by Berne, Lucerne, Basel, and Zurich, to which the peasantry on the lake caused great alarm.

A stratagem, favored by chance, opened the passes occupied by the peasantry to the government troops and frustrated their plan of warfare. The steward of a Bernese noble, whom curiosity had led too close to the scene of operations, was taken prisoner by the peasants, and, by accident, overheard a conference between Leuenberg and his commander-in-chief, Schybi, and, on regaining his liberty, laid Schybi's well-schemed plan of battle before the Zurichers. About six thousand Bernese troops, coming from Vaud, being stopped by Leuenberg at the pass near Gummenen, Durheim, the Bernese provincial governor, craftily spread a report that Leuenberg and the whole of his troops had embraced Catholicism and that the sole object of the insurgents was to betray the Bernese to the pope. The Protestant peasants guarding the pass, terrified at this rumor, fled, and the pass was instantly occupied by the Bernese. The government of Lucerne, with equal subtlety, retained their hold over their bigoted Catholic subjects by publishing a manifesto from the clergy, in which the war against the insurgent peasantry was declared agreeable to the Divine will.

General Werdmuller of Zurich at length took the field at the head of some well-disciplined troops, with a fine body of cavalry and a park of artillery, against the numerous but ill-armed peasantry. At Ottmarsingen, in the vicinity of

Lenzburg, he came up with a body of about fifteen hundred armed insurgents, posted in a wood, and strongly barricaded. Werdmuller halted his troops, and, some of the peasant leaders coming forward, he demanded, "Why they had taken up arms?" They replied that "peace was their greatest desire; that they would instantly lay down their arms on the restoration of the privileges and rights they had enjoyed for a century past, and of which they had been deprived, and that they would oppose violence by violence. Death could happen but once!" A pitched battle was fought a few days afterward at Wohlenschwyl. The peasantry defended the burning village under a heavy cannonade, until late at night, when both parties retreated to their camps. The peasantry, however, perceiving their inability to cope with regular troops and artillery, acceded, A.D. 1653, to the terms of peace proposed by the general, which deceitfully provided that "anything relating further to the government or to their subjects, should, in default of an amicable arrangement, be regulated by the law." This article inspired the peasantry with the vain hope of an amicable adjustment of differences, while it reserved to the cities the power of refusing, and also that of referring to the law, that is, to the penal code. The peasants were at first treated with great apparent friendship, and Leuenberg dined in public with the general. Vengeance, nevertheless, did not tarry.

The peasantry of Entlibuch, mistrusting the peace, advised their Bernese brethren not to accede to the terms, and, finding themselves unheeded, withdrew. Although surrounded on every side, they defended themselves in Entlibuch with most unflinching bravery, but were finally compelled to yield. Their leaders were thrown into prison.

Some of the Bernese peasantry having marched to the assistance of their brethren in Entlibuch, but without taking part in the contest, the government seized the opportunity to infringe the treaty of Wohlenschwyl and to take their revenge on the Bernese, who had been greatly weakened by the defeat of the people of Entlibuch, and, in order to strike

them with terror, von Erlach marched with a considerable force from Berne to Wangen, burning, murdering, plundering, etc., like a horde of barbarians. Leuenberg instantly wrote a letter to Werdmuller, in which he called upon him to maintain the treaty and charged him and Erlach with the crime of renewing the war. He then took the field with five thousand Emmenthal peasants against Erlach, but, ill-armed and overpowered by numbers, they suffered a total defeat, and he was shortly afterward betrayed by a peasant, who was consequently pardoned, into the hands of his enemies.

Werdmuller vainly endeavored to interpret the treaty, concluded by him at Wohlenschwyl, in the peasants' favor; the city councils were intent upon revenge, and a fearful tribunal was held in every place where the peasants had been captured. Torture, hanging, beheading, quartering, splitting of tongues and ears, slavery on the Venetian galleys, long imprisonment and hard labor, were the modes of punishment resorted to. Basel, although exposed to little danger during the war, acted with the greatest severity, and Solothurn with the greatest lenity intermixed with baseness, the lives of the peasantry of that canton being spared on payment of an enormous fine. The council of Solothurn, ever greedy of gain, also entered at that time into a separate alliance with France. The popular leaders were treated with peculiar barbarity. The gallant Schybi, a handsome athletic man, endured the severest torture without a murmur. Leuenberg's head was stuck, with the letter of confederation, on the gallows, and his quartered body was hung up in four parts of the country.

The treaty of Wohlenschwyl was partially recognized by a court of arbitration formed by the confederation, and a few concessions were assured to the peasantry; the different governments, nevertheless, delayed their confirmation under various pretexts. The patience of the Entlibuch peasantry was at length exhausted, and the three Tells, the men who, on the first rising of the people of Entlibuch, had personated

the three ancient Swiss patriots of the Grutli, waylaid, in imitation of William Tell, some Lucerne councillors, when passing along a deep road, shot one and wounded the rest. Their arrest being attempted, they desperately defended themselves within their cottage and were at length shot by their assailants. This incident, however, induced Lucerne at length to announce the stipulated concessions to Entlibuch.

Success increased the arrogance of the cities, which haughtily extended their claims even over the free peasantry of the original cantons. It was no longer with a purely religious motive that Zurich and Berne took the part of some families expelled on account of their faith from Schwyz, prescribed laws to that canton, and, at length, declared war against it; fanatical zeal had cooled, the proud citizen solely took up arms for the reduction of his peasant brother. The Catholics, nevertheless, confederated, A.D. 1656, and the Reformers were totally routed at Villmergen.

CCXXIII. *Holland in Distress*

HOLLAND, actuated by commercial jealousy, wasted her strength in a ruinous contest with England instead of setting a limit to the encroachments of France. The stadtholder, William of Orange, A.D. 1647, depended upon the soldiery for the maintenance of the prosperity of the country; the republican party, upon commerce and the navy. At the head of this party stood Jacob de Witt, who, together with five other members of the states-general, was arrested at William's command, A.D. 1650; but William expiring shortly afterward, and his son, William, being born eight days after his death, the republican party, headed by John, the son of Jacob de Witt, regained their former power. John, at that time compelled to carry on a severe contest with England, neglected to take the necessary precautions against France, to keep up the fortresses and to maintain the army. The passing of Cromwell's Navigation Act, A.D. 1651, by which foreign vessels, laden with native produce,

were alone allowed to enter English ports, caused great detriment to Holland, which at that time monopolized almost the whole of the continental trade, and a struggle consequently ensued between her and England for the rule of the sea. Holland was still at the height of her power. She numbered ten thousand merchantmen, one hundred and sixty-eight thousand sailors. Her admirals were the veteran Tromp, the brave de Ruyter, who had commenced life as a poor sailor, the proud Cornelius de Witt, who had renounced the mild doctrines of the Mennonites, in which he had been educated, for the sake of thrashing a person who had insulted him; the brothers Evertsen and van Galen. The English admirals were Blake, Monk, Askew, and Appleton. The great naval war began A.D. 1651. Tromp was victorious off Dover, de Ruyter off Plymouth, but both were, in a third engagement, defeated, owing to a disagreement between them and de Witt. In 1652 Tromp gained a brilliant victory over the English under Blake and fixed a broom at his masthead, in sign of his having swept the sea clear from every foe. The English now exerted their utmost strength, and, in a fresh engagement, that took place in the ensuing year, victory was claimed by both sides. Van Galen, however, succeeded in beating Appleton off Livorno. He was struck with a cannon-ball and expired, exclaiming, "It is easy to die for one's country, when crowned with victory!" The veteran Tromp, the father of the navy, was defeated and killed off Dunkirk. Eight captains and several lieutenants, whose negligence had mainly caused this misfortune, were punished with republican severity, some of them being thrice keelhauled, the punishment always inflicted by Van Tromp upon cowards.

Peace was concluded, A.D. 1654, between England and Holland, whose common interests led them to oppose the princes, and the reigning faction in Holland resolved, for the better preservation of the democracy, that, for the future, no Prince of Orange should rule as stadtholder over Holland; but on the restoration of the Stuart dynasty in Eng-

land, the Orange party rose again in Holland, repealed the decree of 1654, and elected William as their future stadtholder. John de Witt yielded, and dreading, at this period of universal reaction, to disoblige the English monarch, delivered up to him some English members of parliament, who had formerly voted for the execution of Charles I. The war, nevertheless, again broke out. The commercial interests of the English and Dutch were opposed to each other in every quarter of the globe, and the former, numerically superior, regarded the colonies of the latter with a covetous eye. These important colonies lay too scattered to be easily maintained. During the short peace between Holland and England, Charles II., who had wedded a Portuguese princess, brought about a treaty with Portugal, to which Holland ceded the Brazils, after losing almost the whole of her fleet. The Cape of Good Hope, colonized, A.D. 1648, by Riebeck, so important for the trade with the East Indies, was, on the other hand, raised to a higher degree of prosperity, and the Dutch, after extending their trade along the Malabar coast as far as Persia, took possession of Ceylon, etc. Holland, after the cession of the Brazils, being unable to resolve upon that of her colonies in North America, whose possession was coveted by England, war again broke out between the rival powers in 1664. England seized the Dutch colonies on the eastern coast of North America and converted the city of New Amsterdam into that of New York. Wasenaar was defeated on the English coast, and his ship blown into the air. De Ruyter was at that time absent in Africa. The naval power of Holland rose on his return, and a fearful revenge was taken, A.D. 1666, in an engagement off the English coast, which lasted four days, and in which the English, with whom the Pfalzgraf Rupert fought, lost twenty-three ships; six thousand men were killed, and three thousand made prisoners. This was de Ruyter's most difficult and greatest triumph, in which he was aided by the younger Tromp and Cornelius Evertsen, the latter of whom fell and was replaced by his brother John,

who had retired into private life, and whose father, son, and four brothers had already fallen for their country, a fate he himself shared in the next engagement. In the ensuing year, de Ruyter and Cornelius, John de Witt's brother, sailed up the Thames, laid waste the coast almost as far as London, the English having been driven from the sea, and burned several English ships at Chatham, taking possession of the Thames from the North Foreland and Margate as far as the Nore. The English were compelled to accede to the terms of peace proposed by her victorious rival, at Breda, A.D. 1667, and the Navigation Act was suspended in regard to Dutch cargoes.

France beheld these disputes between her neighbors, which she stimulated to the utmost in her power, with delight, and, meanwhile, projected the seizure of the Spanish Netherlands. Spain was rapidly on the decline. The system pursued by Philip II. had been productive of evil to his successors. The monarch slumbered in the arms of the church, the navy fell to pieces, the army into rags. The provincial Estates in the Netherlands had remained unconvoked since 1600. The spirit of the people had sunk. These provinces were also externally unprotected. The Rhenish princes had been gained by Louis XIV., who also won over Holland by fraudulently proposing the partition of the Spanish Netherlands, to which John de Witt as fraudulently assented for the sake of gaining time, conquests by land not being in his plan, and a weak neighbor (Spain) being preferred by him to a powerful one (France). He has been groundlessly charged with having been actually in alliance with France, whom he in reality merely deceived, and against whom he raised a powerful league, the triple alliance between Holland, England, and Sweden, which instantly opposed the attempted extension of the French territory on the seizure of the Netherlands by Turenne under pretext of the non-payment of the dowry of the Infanta Maria Theresa, and Louis was compelled to accede to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 1668, and to content himself

with the possession of twelve towns, Tournay, Ryssel, Courtray, Oudenarde, etc. Germany looked on with indifference.

Louis XIV., enraged at the duplicity practiced by John de Witt, now intrigued against Holland, and, in order to guard against a second surprise, entered into negotiation with the neighboring powers, with the view of completely isolating the Dutch republic. A fresh alliance was concluded with Switzerland, A.D. 1663; the governments were flattered and bribed and a number of mercenaries drawn from them, while the betrayed people were treated with insolent contempt and their petitions for the removal of the restrictions upon commerce on the frontier left unnoticed. Lorraine was speedily mastered. Francis, the duke's brother, had, in 1662, defended the country against Louis, and the duke, Charles, who had, in 1667, with great unwillingness allowed his troops to coalesce with those of France, refused to come to a further understanding. The country was instantly occupied with French troops, the duke expelled, A.D. 1670, Nancy pillaged and the booty carried to Paris. This scandalous robbery, committed in peace time on a German province, remained unpunished. The empire offered no interference. The imperial towns in Alsace, Strasburg excepted, had been compelled, A.D. 1665, in a similar manner, to swear allegiance to France. Vain was the address of a patriot (Gallus ablegatus) to the diet, "Awake, ye princes of Germany, arise! France has seized Lorraine, the Rhine lies open. Awake! shake off your slumbers, seize your arms! Beware of the Egonists! March forward! Choose whether you would be eagles under the eagle or chickens under the cock!" The Egonists (a play upon the word egotist and the three brothers von Furstenberg, Francis Egon, bishop of Strasburg, Ferdinand Egon, master of the household at Munich, and William Egon) had universal rule, more particularly William, who blindly led the elector, Maximilian Henry of Bavaria, and was Louis's principal agent in Germany, by which he gained the sobriquet of "*le cher ami de France.*" Cologne and the

bishop of Munster, Bernard von Galen, furnished the French monarch with troops, in which they were imitated by John Frederick of Hanover, who took a French general into his service for the purpose of teaching his subjects the French exercise and lived in his impoverished country with the senseless pomp of a petty Louis. Christian of Mecklenburg-Schwerin was infected with a similar mania, made a public profession of Catholicism at Paris, A.D. 1663, took the name of Louis and always subscribed himself "knight of the order of the most Christian king." Others among the German princes remained neutral. Ferdinand Maria, elector of Bavaria, whom Louis had surrounded with licentious French courtiers, and who was completely led by a brother of William von Furstenberg and by the Jesuit Privigniani, the creature of France; Eberhard of Wurtemberg, who sided with France through dread of losing Mumpelgard, and who, on that account, gave his son the name of Louis and begged the French king to stand godfather; Mayence, where a whisper from France sufficed to overthrow the minister, Boineburg, who, for a moment, appeared to favor Germany; Treves, exposed to every attack, and the rest of the petty Rhenish princes. A Count Solms, the only one who refused to yield, was beaten to death by order of Turenne. Bitter complaints and satires abounded, but Louis XIV. had German authors, among others the celebrated Conring, in his pay, who lauded France to the skies, defended his claim upon the conquered territory, and loaded German patriotism with ridicule. Finally, aided by the princes of Lobkowitz (who, like Lichtenstein, Colloredo, Gallas, and Piccolomini, had risen to note during the thirty years' war, and who held the principality of Sagan in fee), whom he had bribed, he deluded the emperor into an alliance, A.D. 1761, for the pretended extermination of the heretics. This secret treaty was shown by France to the elector of Brandenburg, partly with a view of striking him with terror, partly with that of dissipating his inclination to ally himself with Austria. Germany was, by these means, secured, and, on the confirma-

tion of the alliance between Louis and Charles II., king of England, the fate of Holland appeared inevitable. Louis, in order to color his designs, pretended to act in the name of his brother sovereigns and to avenge the monarchical principle on the insolent republic. A medal was struck, representing Louis in a haughty attitude, and, on the reverse, Holland humbled, with the inscription, "Ultor Regum."

Leibnitz, the great philosopher, formed at that time the whimsical plan of diverting the French from the conquest of Holland by that of Egypt, and of preserving the tranquillity of Germany by means of a quarrel between France and Turkey. John Philip, the intriguing elector of Mayence, undertook the management of this affair, which was treated with ridicule by Louis, who laughingly observed that "crusades were no longer in vogue."

The French king entered Holland at the head of two hundred thousand men, while the bishop of Munster made a simultaneous attack on the opposite side with a force twenty thousand strong, which found the states-general unprepared. The fortresses were in a state of dilapidation, and the army scarcely mustered twenty thousand men. The French, consequently, made rapid progress, took Wesel and Rheinsberg (which, although appertaining to Brandenburg, had been long garrisoned, as security against the Spanish, by the Dutch), cut Holland off from any aid that might offer from Germany, and, ere long, occupied Oberyssel, Guelders, and Utrecht. The only opposition offered by the Dutch was at the mouth of the Yssel, where the great Conde was wounded. The mercenaries were spiritless, their commanders often traitors, the people ignorant of the use of arms and taken by surprise. In Wesel, the women refused to allow their husbands to expose themselves to the enemy's fire and insisted upon capitulation. The citizens of Nimwegen, Bommel, Deventer, and Elburg, on the other hand, displayed the greatest courage, but were unable, owing to the cowardice of their officers, who deserted, to maintain themselves against the besieging army. Several undecisive engagements also took

place between the fleets of England and Holland, A.D. 1672.

The Dutch, who had for so long deemed themselves secure from every hostile attack, were panic-struck, and the cry of "Holland is in distress" passed from mouth to mouth. Their courage, however, speedily returned, and, on the proposal of a negotiation with France being made to the states-general by John de Witt, some of the city deputies, among others the burgomaster of Amsterdam, John von der Poll, Valckenier, Hop, and Hasselaar, made an ineffectual opposition; the assembled provincial Estates of Zealand, notwithstanding, passed the noble-spirited resolutions:—First, We ought to and will defend our religion and our liberty to the utmost of our ability and with the last drop of our blood. Secondly, We will on no account consent to any contract or negotiation, which may have been or may be entered into by Holland or by any of the other provinces with France. Thirdly, We will, without delay, send a deputation to our sovereign, the Prince of Orange, entreating him to aid and defend us with his allies. Fourthly, In so far as we may be unable to withstand the overwhelming forces of the enemy, we prefer submitting to the king of England than to the king of France.—This example electrified the people, and defence was unanimously resolved upon. John de Witt lost all his influence and was loudly blamed for having neglected the defences of the country, and for having, shortly before the breaking out of the war, allowed the exportation of saltpetre to France. His exclusion of the house of Orange from the stadtholdership in 1667, and his subsequent abolition of that dignity by the "Eternal Edict," had excited the enmity of William of Orange, who now imitated the revenge taken by his ancestor, Maurice, on Olden Barneveldt. De Witt was falsely accused of having acted upon a secret understanding with France. An attempt was made to assassinate him, and one de Graaf dealt him a wound which confined him to his sick chamber. The people rose simultaneously throughout the country; de Witt's party fell, and every eye

was turned upon William of Orange, then in his twenty-second year, who actively superintended the affairs of Holland and was seen in every quarter, encouraging the people and restoring tranquillity. "*Orange boven!*" Up with Orange! was the general cry; orange-colored ribbons fluttered on every hat, and from every tower waved flags of similar hue, bearing the inscription,

"Orange boven en Wit onder,
Die 't anders meent, sla de Donder."

The dams were again pierced, and a great portion of the country was flooded. The besieged cities still held out. Marshal d'Ancre was compelled to raise the siege of Aardenburg, where the women and children vied with the men in defending the walls, and Groningen covered herself with glory by repelling the twenty thousand Episcopal troops from Cologne and Munster. The bishop was equally unsuccessful before Coeverden, where fourteen hundred of his men were carried away by a flood, occasioned by the bursting of a dam which he had intended to open upon the town. The citizens of Blocksijl shot their cowardly commandant and maintained their town, unaided by the military. Louis returned in disappointment to France, leaving Turenne to watch the country.

The unfortunate John de Witt, when scarcely recovered from his wounds, had been, meanwhile, put to the rack at The Hague, and, at length, cut to pieces, together with his invalid brother, Cornelius, by the infuriated multitude, who afterward publicly hawked their limbs about the town. Tichelaar, the instigator of this hideous deed, was rewarded by William of Orange with an office and a pension.

CCXXIV. *The Great Elector*

THE influence of Frederick William, the great elector of Brandenburg, who, apprehensive for his territory of Cleves, at length induced the emperor to give up his alliance with

France, had also essentially contributed to the evacuation of Holland by the French. The representations made by France and the pope to the emperor against his unconscientious union with heretics, Brandenburg and Holland (as if France had never sought the alliance of both Sweden and Turkey), were, nevertheless, far from ineffectual, and Montecuculi, although sent to the aid of Holland, was regulated in his movements by the orders and counter-orders of Lobkowitz, the tool of France. When on the point of forming a junction with the great elector and of driving the French out of Holland, he suddenly received orders to march to Frankfort and there to remain in a state of inactivity, upon which Turenne instantly threw himself on the left bank of the Rhine, for the purpose of cutting off his communication with the Netherlands and with Cleves. Montecuculi, however, also crossing the Rhine at Mayence and threatening to invade France, Turenne re-crossed the Rhine with such precipitation at Andernach that a thousand of his plundering soldiery were left behind and were killed in the Westerwald by the peasantry.

The seat of war was, by this means, removed from Holland to the Middle Rhine, where the Rhenish league, in the interest of France, threw every difficulty in the path of the patriotic elector. All the princes of the empire, through whose territory the Brandenburg troops passed, protested against the violation and demanded reparation. Saxony, supported by the elector of Mayence, leagued with Hanover and Sweden against Brandenburg, and the behavior of the imperial court was, at the same time, so equivocal, that the elector, apprehensive of losing Cleves, was compelled to conclude peace at Vossem, without delay, with France, A.D. 1673.

Louis, once more confident of success, now sent the Marshal de Luxemburg to the frontiers of Holland, where he gave his soldiers license to plunder, burn, and murder. The most frightful atrocities were committed. In the spring of 1673, the French king took the field in person with a design of completing the conquest of Holland. De Ruyter, how-

ever, beating the English fleets in three successive engagements, Charles II. was compelled by the English parliament to renounce his base alliance with France; Austria also at length exerted herself; Lobkowitz was dismissed; Montecuculi advanced to the Rhine, and, at Cologne, seized the traitor, William von Furstenberg, who had impudently assumed the title of French ambassador without previously renouncing his allegiance to the empire. Treves fell into the hands of the French. An indecisive engagement took place between William of Orange and the French at Senef, and, in 1664, Turenne was sent to the Upper Rhine, where the imperialists under Bournonville, a Frenchman, who was either ill-adapted for the command or in the pay of France, were defeated at Ensisheim, before the elector of Brandenburg, who had again ranged himself on the emperor's side, could join them with his troops. Charles Louis, elector of the Pfalz, who, from his castle of Friedricksburg, beheld the smoking cities and villages wantonly set in flames by Turenne, sent that commander a challenge, which was refused, Turenne returning his customary excuse for his conduct, "These things always happen in war time." The veteran duke, Charles of Lorraine, unaided, attacked and defeated the French under Crecqui, near Treves, A.D. 1675. The duke of Vaudemont, governor of Burgundy, also long and gallantly stood his ground in Besançon, but no succor being afforded to him that province was again lost. Charles of Lorraine vainly implored the imperialists and Brandenburg to coalesce for the defence of the frontier provinces; Bournonville refused to move until he was at length attacked at Muhlhausen and thrown back upon the great elector, by whom the French were defeated at Turkheim. The Swedes, meanwhile, instigated by Louis, suddenly invaded Brandenburg, and the elector hastily returned to defend his demesnes. Charles of Lorraine died of rage and sorrow.

Montecuculi, notwithstanding the absence of the elector of Brandenburg, was again victorious on the Upper Rhine. Turenne fell in the battle of Sasbach, A.D. 1675. The French

were driven back on every side, and, being a second time defeated on the Saar, retreated beyond Treves. They defended themselves in this city, under Crecqui, for some time, but were at length compelled to capitulate. The greater number of them were cut to pieces on the entrance of the imperialists, who mistook the explosion of some grenades for an attack. A brilliant victory was gained at the same time, A.D. 1676, at the foot of Etna, by the Dutch fleet over that of France; De Ruyter, who was killed in this engagement, was buried at Syracuse.

The French king now withdrew his forces for a while, leaving the fortresses, remaining in his hands, strongly fortified. These garrisons systematically plundered and destroyed the country in their vicinity; Berg-Zabern, where numbers of the inhabitants were burned to death, Brucksal, and numerous villages were laid in ashes. The capture of Philippsburg, one of the principal fortresses, by the imperialists, merely incited the French to greater violence, and the year 1677 opened amid all the horrors of war. Conflagrations spread far and wide. St. Wendel, Saarbruck, where the incendiaries were besieged in the castle, taken and slain, Hagenau, Zweibrucken, Elsass-Zabern, Buschweiler, Ottweiler, Lutzelstein, Veldenz, Weissenburg, and four hundred villages were reduced to heaps of ruins. The Dachsburg, the strongest fort in the Pfalz, fell by treachery. The valuable library of the Pfalzgraf of Zweibrucken was carried to Paris. La Broche, the captain of the incendiary bands, was taken by the imperialists and shot. He was succeeded by Montclas, who, after some bloody skirmishes in the neighborhood of Strasburg, crossed the Rhine, set thirty villages around Breisach in flames, and took Freiburg in the Breisgau by surprise, where he maintained his position, the emperor, deluded by his counsellors, the tools of France, no longer making any effort for the preservation of the empire. The Swiss, instead of aiding their German brethren, restricted themselves to the defence of their frontiers, whence they repulsed the duke of Lorraine, who sought refuge within their

territory. Germany offered but trifling resistance, and the war became a succession of petty skirmishes.—The Netherlands were also greatly harassed by the French garrison of Maestricht. Tangern and a number of villages were burned down by the Marshal de Luxemburg, who pillaged the country so systematically that not a single head of cattle remained in the territory within his reach.

The elector of Brandenburg had, in the meantime, hurried home to defend his territory from the Swedes, who, instigated by Vitry, the French ambassador, were there renewing all the horrors of the thirty years' war. The elector's army, numerically weak and worn with fatigue, was opposed by one superior in number and accustomed to victory, under Waldemar, the brother of the celebrated Gustavus Wrangel. The emperor, deluded into a belief that the invasion of Brandenburg by the Swedes merely masked an intention on both parts to coalesce for the purpose of invading Silesia, refused his aid. The warlike bishop of Munster, formerly Brandenburg's foe, now became his sole ally, and, arming in his defence, held Hanover, which showed an inclination to assist the Swedes, in check. The active mind of the elector and the fidelity of his people, however, proved his best defence. The peasants, cruelly abused by the Swedes, rose throughout the country in his name, and the elector, secretly aided by the citizens of Rathenow, succeeded in surprising and killing almost every Swede within the walls. The few that escaped fell back upon a strong detachment stationed at Fehrbellin, which being, without the elector's permission, attacked by the youthful Landgrave, Frederick of Hesse-Homburg, the former was compelled to hasten to his aid with his cavalry, the infantry being unable to come up in time. He gained a complete victory, partly owing to the experience and fidelity of Marshal Derflinger, who was originally a tailor's apprentice. Derflinger had also conducted the surprise of Rathenow. Several of the old Swedish regiments, habituated to victory, refused either to save themselves by flight or to yield, and were cut down almost to a

man. The gallant Landgrave was pardoned for the rashness of his attack. Brandenburg's equerry, Froben, observing, during the engagement, that the Swedes aimed at the gray horse ridden by the duke, begged of him to change horses with him, and was, a few seconds after, shot by the enemy, A.D. 1675. The elector and Derflinger were, in the ensuing campaign, again successful; the Swedes were defeated at Wolgast; Stettin was taken after a determined resistance; Stralsund, which had so long resisted Wallenstein, and Greifswald, fell into their hands. In the winter of 1678, the Swedes invaded Prussia, but were repulsed by the elector, who pursued them in sledges across the gulf of Courland and again defeated them in the vicinity of Riga, whence famine and the severity of the cold compelled him to return. The Dutch, under the younger Tromp, also beat the Swedes at sea, and Wismar was taken by Brandenburg and by his Danish allies. This war, the result of foreign influence in Germany, again emptied the vial of wrath on the heads of the people. How came Stettin and Wismar to fight for a foreign ruler?

The fall of Ghent and Ypern, and the defeat of William of Orange at St. Omer, inclined the Dutch to peace. This ingratitude filled their former allies with disgust. The imbecile emperor, in the meantime, taught to regard Brandenburg, who had covered himself with glory by his successes in the North, as more dangerous to his repose than France, and supported by the futile perfidy of the Dutch, concluded, without regard for the critical state of the empire, a hasty and shameful treaty at Nimwegen, A.D. 1678, by which Brandenburg was expressly excluded from all participation in the advantages of the peace.[1] A useless but splendid victory was gained by William at Mons, before the news of the conclusion of peace reached the Dutch camp. Freiburg

[1] A medal of Louis XIV., struck on this occasion, represents Peace, accompanied by Pain and Pleasure, descending from heaven, and Holland welcoming her with open arms while the imperial eagle vainly attempts to hold her back by her robes.

in the Breisgau was, by this treaty, ceded by the emperor, Burgundy and the twelve frontier towns in the Netherlands by Spain, to France, who, on her part, restored Lorraine, which she, notwithstanding, provisionally occupied with her troops. The traitor, William von Furstenberg, instead of being beheaded like the Hungarian rebels who suffered at that time, was loaded with every mark of honor, restored to liberty, and afterward rewarded with the bishopric of Strasburg and a cardinal's hat.

Brandenburg was condemned to restore his conquests to Sweden. A French army, under Crecqui, advanced, A.D. 1679, against the Danes, Brandenburg's allies, laid Cologne, Juliers, and Oldenburg under heavy contribution, without the empire being able to protect herself from the insult, and withdrew, after compelling the elector, deserted by the emperor and the empire, to accede to the terms of the peace and to restore his Pomeranian conquests to Sweden. Had he and the gallant Montecuculi been at the head of affairs in Germany, how different might have been her fate!

The elector now turned his attention to Prussia, where, as a Calvinist, he found the Lutherans, and, as an absolute sovereign, the ancient noblesse, citizens, and provincial Estates ranged in opposition to him. His first step was the erection of the fortress of Friedrichsburg, whose cannons commanded the city of Kœnigsberg. Rhode, the president of the bench of aldermen in that city, too zealously defending her ancient privileges, was arrested and condemned to death, a sentence that was afterward commuted to imprisonment for life. An opportunity was offered to him to ask for pardon, of which he haughtily refused to take advantage. The Freiherr von Kalkstein violently opposing the elector's measures at the head of the provincial Estates, was also arrested, but being allowed a certain degree of liberty on parole, escaped to Warsaw, where he was privately seized by the elector's agents and carried to Memel, where he was executed, A.D. 1672. The elector was also sometimes forced by necessity to have recourse to arbitrary measures in Bran-

denburg, such as striking a false currency, levying duties and heavy taxes for the payment of his troops, on whom he depended for the preservation of his position in the empire. He was also compelled to suppress several ancient and distinct local privileges for the sake of increasing the unity and strength of his dominions. The excessive intolerance of the Lutheran clergy received a severe check; the elector, enraged at their obstinacy, compelling them to bind themselves by oath to obey every electoral edict without reservation. The church was, by this means, rendered subservient to every caprice on the part of the sovereign. The Lutheran pastor at Berlin, Paul Gerhard the poet, was the only one among the Lutheran clergy who preferred banishment to servility.

The intrigues carried on simultaneously by the great elector with Sweden, Poland, France, and Austria, and his despotic rule over his subjects, are partly excused by his position and by the perfidy of his opponents. Frederick William used his utmost endeavors not only to raise the power of his house, but also to free Germany from foreign influence. In his old age, actuated by his dislike of the Habsburg, and guided by his second wife, Dorothea, a princess of Holstein, who sought to substitute her children for the heir-apparent, he declared in favor of France. The emperor, besides betraying him by the treaty of Nimwegen and robbing him of the fruits of his contest with Sweden, had, on the decease of William, the last duke of Leignitz, Brieg, and Wohlau, deprived him of his rightful inheritance and compelled him to rest content with the possession of the district of Schwiebus, A.D. 1675. Frederick, the heir-apparent, unable to support the tyranny of his stepmother, abandoned the country, and his doting father was induced to bequeath the whole of his possessions, Courland alone excepted, to the sons of Dorothea. His will was, on his decease, annulled by the court of Vienna, which had taken the prince under its protection on condition of his binding himself to restore Schwiebus on his father's death.

The attempt made by the great elector to found a naval power is worthy of remark. The subsidies, promised to him by Spain on Louis's first invasion, remaining unpaid, he sent out a small fleet under Cornelius van Bevern, A.D. 1679, who waylaid and seized the rich Spanish galleons, and, in 1687, he formed an African society, which sent out a fleet under von der Grœben and founded Gross-Friedrichsburg on the coast of Guinea. The existence of this colony being endangered by the jealousy of the English and Dutch, it was sold to the latter, A.D. 1780.

CCXXV. *Ill-treatment of the Imperial Cities—The Loss of Strasburg*

Louis XIV., while carrying on his attacks externally against the empire, exerted every effort for the destruction of the remaining internal liberties of Germany. His invasion of Holland had been undertaken under the plausible pretext (intended as a blind to the princes) of defending the monarchical principle, and, while secretly planning the seizure of Strasburg, he sought to indispose the princes toward the free imperial cities. He, accordingly, flattered Bavaria with the conquest of Nuremberg, Ratisbon, Augsburg, and Ulm; Bavaria was, however, still apprehensive of the emperor and contented herself with retaining possession of the old imperial city of Donauwœrth, notwithstanding the peace of Westphalia, by which the freedom of that city had been guaranteed. In 1661, French troops aided the bishop, van Galen, in subjugating the provincial town of Munster and in depriving her of all her ancient privileges. In 1664, French troops, in a similar manner, aided the electoral prince of Mayence to place the city of Erfurt under subjection. Erfurt belonged originally to Mayence, but had long been free and Protestant, and stood under the especial protection of Saxony. The demand made by the elector, of being included in the prayers of the church, being refused by the Protestant citizens, the emperor, who beheld the affair in a Catholic

light, put the city out of the ban of the empire, which was executed by Mayence, backed by a French army, while Saxony was pacified with a sum of money. The unfortunate citizens opposed the Mayence faction within the city with extreme fury, assassinated Kniephof, the president of the council, and beheaded Limprecht, one of the chief magistrates, but were, after a gallant defence, compelled to capitulate.

In 1665, Louis reduced the imperial cities of Alsace, Strasburg excepted, to submission. In 1666, the Swedes, under Wrangel, made a predatory attack upon Bremen and bombarded the town, but withdrew on a protest being made by the emperor and the empire. In the same year, Frederick William of Brandenburg annihilated the liberties of the city of Magdeburg, the archbishopric having, on the death of Augustus of Saxony, fallen, in consequence of the peace of Westphalia, under the administration of Brandenburg. In 1671, the ancient city of Brunswick had been seized by Rudolph Augustus, duke of Wolfenbuttel, and robbed of all her privileges. Most of the merchants emigrated. In 1672, Cologne was subjugated by the elector, the city having, at an earlier period, favored the Dutch. The citizens, tyrannized over by the council dependent on the elector, revolted, but were reduced to submission, A.D. 1689. The rebellious citizens of Liege were also reduced, by the aid of the elector of Cologne, and deprived of their ancient privileges, A.D. 1684. A similar insurrection caused, A.D. 1685, at Brussels, by the heavy imposts, was suppressed by force.

In East Friesland, Count Rudolph Christian, who had been murdered during the thirty years' war, had been succeeded by his brother, Ulric, whose son, Enno Louis, had, in 1654, been created prince. George Christian, Enno's brother and successor, was involved in a dispute, on account of the heavy imposts, with the city of Emden, and in a vexatious suit with his niece, the wife of one of the princes Lichtenstein, who claimed Harlingerland in right of her mother. This suit was terminated by the invasion of Friesland by an

imperial army under Bernard van Galen, bishop of Munster, who imposed a heavy fine, by way of compensation, on the count. On the death of George Christian, in 1665, his widow, a princess of Wurtemberg, carried on the government in the name of her infant son, Christian Eberhard, whose guardian, Ernest Augustus, duke of Brunswick, rendered himself highly unpopular, and, on his departure, the bishop of Munster, to whom the princess had promised, by way of compensation, a share in the city of Emden, reappearing, the citizens took up arms in their defence, but, subsequently, made terms with the bishop and were supported by Brandenburg against the princess, whose despotic rule was formally opposed by the Estates. Tranquillity was restored on the accession of the young prince in 1690.

Hamburg had been a scene of disturbance since 1671, on account of the narrow-minded despotism of the aristocratic council, which, in 1673, fraudulently obtained a decision, the Windischgrætz convention, from the emperor, who rebuked the complaining citizens and recommended them to submit. The syndic, Garmer, who had been principally implicated in the affair of the convention, intriguing with Denmark, became suspected by the emperor and was compelled to fly from Hamburg, A.D. 1678. The burgomaster, Meurer, was also expelled. The convention was repealed, and Meurer was replaced by Schluter, who was assisted by two honest citizens, Schnitger and Jastram. The Danes, on the failure of Garmer's intrigues, sought to seize Hamburg by surprise and to annex that city, under pretence of its having formerly appertained to Holstein, to Denmark. The citizens were, however, on the watch; Brandenburg hastened to their aid, and the Danes were repulsed. The ancient aristocratic faction now rose and falsely accused Schnitger, Jastram, and Schluter, of a design to betray the city to Denmark; the two former were quartered, the third was poisoned in prison; Meurer was reinstated in his office, and the Windischgrætz convention reinforced. The ancient pride of the Hansa had forever fallen. In 1667, the Dutch pursued the English mer-

chantmen up to the walls of Hamburg, captured them, and injured the city, which, in order to escape war with England, compensated the English merchants for their losses.

Strasburg, the ancient bulwark of Germany, was, however, destined to a still more wretched fate, and, deserted by the German princes, was greedily grasped by France. The insolence of the French monarch had greatly increased since the treaty of Nimwegen. In 1680, he unexpectedly declared his intention to hold, besides the territory torn from the empire, all the lands, cities, estates, and privileges that had thereto appertained, such as, for instance, all German monasteries, which, a thousand years before the present period, had been founded by the Merovingians and Carlovingians, all the districts which had, at any time, been held in fee by, or been annexed by right of inheritance to, Alsace, Burgundy, or the Breisgau, and, for this purpose, established four chambers of reunion at Besançon, Breisach, Metz, and Tournay, composed of paid literati and lawyers, commissioned to search for the said dependencies amid the dust of the ancient archives. The first idea of these chambers of reunion had been given by a certain Ravaulx to Colbert, the French minister, and the execution of their decrees was committed to bands of incendiaries, who, in Alsace, the Netherlands, and the Pfalz, tore down the ancient escutcheons and replaced them with that of France, garrisoned the towns, and exacted enormous contributions from the citizens, with which Louis purchased three hundred pieces of artillery for the defence of the territory thus arbitrarily seized.

The whole of the empire was agitated, but, while a tedious discussion was as usual being carried on at Ratisbon, the French carried their schemes into execution and suddenly seized Strasburg by treachery. This city, according to her historian, Friese, had made every effort to maintain her liberty against France. The citizens had, since the thirty years' war, lived in a state of continual apprehension, maintained and strengthened their fortifications, kept a body of regular troops, and, in their turn, every third day had

mounted guard. For sixty years, they had been continually on the defensive, and immense sums had been swallowed up in the necessary outlay. Trade and commerce declined. The bishop of Spires levied a high duty on the goods of the Strasburg merchants when on their way through Lauterburg and Philippsburg to the Frankfort fairs, while France beheld the sinking credit of the city with delight, exercised every system of oppression in her power, and promoted disunion among the citizens. There were also traitors among the Lutheran clergy. The loyalty of the citizens was, however, proof against every attempt, and Louis expended three hundred thousand dollars in the creation of a small party. Terror and surprise did the rest. The city was secretly surrounded with French troops at a time when numbers of the citizens were absent at the Frankfort and other fairs, September, 1680, and the traitors had taken care that the means of defence should be in a bad condition. The citizens, deluded by promises or shaken by threats, yielded, and Strasburg, the principal key to Germany, the seat of German learning and the centre of German industry, capitulated, on the 13th of October, to the empire's most implacable foe. Louis made a triumphal entry into the city he had won by perfidy, and was welcomed by Francis Egon von Furstenberg, the traitorous bishop, in the words of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation!" The city was strongly garrisoned by the French, and the fortifications were rapidly improved to such a degree as to render it one of the strongest places in Europe. The great cathedral, belonging to the Protestants, was reclaimed by the bishop, and the free exercise of religion was, contrary to the terms of capitulation, restricted. All the Lutheran officials were removed, the clergy driven into the country. The Protestants emigrated in crowds. The chief magistrate, the venerable Dominicus Dietrich, fell a victim to private enmity and was cited to appear before Louis at Paris, where he was long detained prisoner. Louvois, on his steady refusal to recant, sent him into the in-

terior of France, where he was long imprisoned. He was, toward the close of his life, allowed to return to Strasburg, where he expired, A.D. 1794. His memory has been basely calumnied by many German historians. Numbers of French were sent to colonize Strasburg, Alsace, and Lorraine. Many of the towns and districts received fresh names; the German costume was prohibited, and the adoption of French modes enforced.

The elector of Brandenburg, influenced by his wife, entering into alliance with France, and the Turks, at Louis's instigation, invading Austria, that monarch found himself without an opponent, and, after conquering Luxemburg, destroyed Genoa, which still remained faithful to the empire, by bombarding her from the sea, A.D. 1684. The emperor, harassed by the Turks and abandoned by the princes, was again compelled, A.D. 1685, to sign a disgraceful peace, by which France retained her newly-acquired territory, besides Strasburg and Luxemburg. Among all the losses suffered by the empire, that of Strasburg has been the most deeply felt. The possession of that powerful fortress by France has, for almost two centuries, neutralized the whole of Upper Germany or forced her princes into an alliance with their natural and hereditary foe.

CCXXVI. *Vienna Besieged by the Turks*

LOUIS, while thus actively employed in the West, incessantly incited the sultan, by means of his ambassadors at Constantinople, to fall upon the rear of the empire.[1] In Hungary, the popular disaffection, excited by the despotic rule of the emperor, had risen to such a height that the Hungarian Christians demanded aid from the Turk against their German oppressors. A conspiracy among the nobility

[1] Sæviebat Reunionum pestis ad Occasum, dum alia ad Ortum ingrueret. Ut enim socius socio fidem præstaret, Gallus et Turca, Christianissimus et Antichristianissimus, novus Pylades atque Orestes, par nobile amicorum in vetita juratorum, junctis consiliis ancipiti malo Germaniam premebant, alter Gallica fide, Græca alter.—*Fecialis Gallus*, 1689.

was discovered in 1671, and the chiefs, Frangipani (the last of this house raised by treason), Nadasdi, Xriny, and Tattenbach, suffered death as traitors at Neustadt. Xriny was the grandson of the hero of Sigeth. His wife died mad. No mercy was extended to the heretics by the triumphant Jesuits and by the soldiers of fortune educated in their school. The magnates were induced by fear or by bribery to recant. The people and their preachers, however, resisted every effort made for their conversion, and a coup d'etat was the result. In 1674, the whole of the Lutheran clergy was convoked to Presburg, was falsely accused of conspiracy, and two hundred and fifty of their number were thrown into prison. These clergymen were afterward sold, at the rate of fifty crowns per head, to Naples, were sent on board the galleys and chained to the oar. Part of them were set at liberty at Naples, the rest at Palermo, by the gallant Admiral de Ruyter shortly before his death. The defenceless communes in Hungary were now consigned to the Jesuits. The German soldiery were quartered on them, and the excesses committed by them were countenanced, as a means of breaking the spirit of the people. The banner of revolt was at length raised by the Lutheran Count Tököly, but the unfortunate Hungarians looked around in vain for an ally to aid them in struggling for their rights. The only one at hand was the Turk, who offered chains in exchange for chains. The emperor, alarmed at the impending danger, yielded, and, A.D. 1681, granted freedom of conscience to Hungary, but it was already too late.

Louis XIV. redoubled his efforts at the Turkish court and at length succeeded in persuading the sultan to send two hundred and eighty thousand men under the grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, into Hungary, while he invaded the western frontier of the empire in person. Terror marched in the Turkish van. The retreat of the weak imperial army under the duke, Charles of Lorraine, under whom the Margrave, Louis of Baden, who afterward acquired such fame, served, became a disorderly flight. The Turks reached the

gates of Vienna unopposed. The emperor fled, leaving the city under the command of Rudiger, Count von Stahrenberg, who, for two months, steadily resisted the furious attacks of the besiegers, by whom the country in the vicinity was converted into a desert and eighty-seven thousand of the inhabitants were dragged into slavery. Stahrenberg, although severely wounded, was daily carried round the works, gave orders, and cheered his men. The Turkish miners blew up the strongest part of the walls, and the whole city was surrounded with ruins and heaps of rubbish; still the Viennese, unshaken by the wild cries, the furious attacks, and immense numbers of the enemy, gallantly resisted every attempt. The wounded were tended by the Bishop Kolonitsch, who so zealously fulfilled his duty as to draw a threat from the grand vizier that he would deprive him of his head.[1] The numbers of the garrison, meanwhile, rapidly diminished, and the strength of the citizens was worn out by incessant duty. Stahrenberg was compelled to punish the sleepy sentinels with death. Famine now began to add to the other miseries endured by the wretched Viennese, who, reduced to the last extremity, fired, during a dark night, a radius of rockets from the tower of St. Stephen's, as a signal of distress to the auxiliary forces supposed to be advancing behind the Leopold and Kahlenberg. The aid so long awaited was, fortunately, close at hand. The vicinity and greatness of the danger had caused an imperial army to be assembled in an unusually short space of time; the emperor had twenty thousand men under Charles, duke of Lorraine; the electors of Bavaria and Saxony came in person at the head of twelve thousand men each. Swabia and Franconia sent nine thousand into the field. John Sobieski, the chivalresque king of Poland, brought an auxiliary troop of eighteen thousand picked men from the North. The German princes ceded to him the command of their united

[1] Kara Mustapha was subsequently strangled on account of his defeat, and his head, found on the taking of Belgrade, was sent to the bishop, who sullied his fame by his cruelty toward the Hungarian Protestants.

forces, and, on Saturday, the 11th of September, 1683, he climbed the Kahlenberg, whence he fired three cannon as a signal to the Viennese of their approaching deliverance, and on the following morning fell upon the camp of the Turks, who had thoughtlessly omitted taking the precautionary measure of occupying the heights, and who, confident in their numerical strength, continued to carry on the siege while they sent too weak a force against the advancing enemy. The Germans, consequently, succeeded in pushing on; the imperial troops on the left wing, the Saxons and Bavarians in the centre, leaving the right wing, composed of Poles, behind. The Germans halted and were joined at Dornbach by the Poles. A troop of twenty thousand Turkish cavalry, the indecision of whose movements betrayed their want of a leader, was routed by Sobieski's sudden attack, and the Germans, inspirited by this success, fell upon the Turkish camp. Thirty thousand Christian prisoners were instantly murdered by command of the enraged vizier, who, instead of turning his whole force against the new assailants, poured a shower of bombs and balls upon Vienna. The Turks, already discontented at the contradictory orders, refused to obey and were easily routed. The grand vizier's tent and an immense treasure fell into the hands of the Poles; the whole of the Turkish artillery into those of the Germans. The secret correspondence between Louis XIV. and the Porte was discovered among the grand vizier's papers. Forty-eight thousand Turks fell during the siege; twenty thousand in the battle.

On the following day, the Polish king entered Vienna on horseback and was greeted by crowds of people, who thronged around him to kiss his stirrup. The emperor, who had taken into deep consideration the mode in which a meeting with Sobieski could be arranged without wounding his own dignity, had at length resolved to come to his rencounter mounted on horseback, and, after bestowing an amicable greeting upon his deliverer, remained stiffly seated in his saddle, nor even raised his hat, on his hand being kissed by Sobieski's son or

on the presentation of some of the Polish nobles. The Polish army was also ill-provided for, and the Poles evinced an inclination to return; Sobieski, however, declared his intention to remain, even if abandoned to a man, until the enemy had been entirely driven out of the country, and unweariedly pursued the Turks, twenty thousand of whom again fell at Parkan, until they had completely evacuated the country, when he returned to Poland.

Charles of Lorraine, aided by Louis of Baden, carried on the war during the ensuing year and attempted to regain Hungary. Still, notwithstanding the fate of Kara Mustapha, who had, at the sultan's command, been strangled at Belgrade, and the inability of his successors, who were either too deeply absorbed in the intrigues of the seraglio or too unskilled in war to take the command of a second expedition, the Turkish commandants and garrisons retained possession of the Hungarian fortresses and offered a brave and obstinate resistance. Every attempt against Ofen failed, notwithstanding the defeat of the relieving army at Handzabek by Duke Charles. Ibrahim, surnamed Satan, maintained the city during a protracted siege, which cost the Germans twenty-three thousand men, A.D. 1684.—In the ensuing campaign, Caprara, field-marshal of the imperial forces, besieged the fortress of Neuhausel, which, after being desperately defended by Zarub, a Bohemian nobleman who had embraced Islamism and been created a pacha, was finally taken by storm. The whole of the garrison, the pacha included, fell. The whole of Upper Hungary fell into Caprara's hands. The unfortunate Count Tököly was carried off in chains by the Turks, and his valiant wife, a daughter of the decapitated Xriny and the widow of a Ragoczy, long defended her treasures in the rocky fastness of Muncacz. Most of her husband's partisans, however, went over to the triumphant imperialists, and the greater part of the fortified towns capitulated, A.D. 1685.—Ofen, defended by Abdurrhaman Pacha and by a garrison, ten thousand strong, who were favored by the inhabitants, all of whom were Turks, was

again besieged by the elector of Bavaria, while Charles of Lorraine marched against the Turkish army advancing to its relief. The contest was carried on with equal fury on both sides. The Germans were repulsed with a loss of three to four thousand men. The grand vizier was, meanwhile, kept in check by Duke Charles, and Ofen, after a terrific struggle, was finally taken by storm, September 2, 1686, without an effort being made on the part of the terror-stricken vizier. The Turks defended themselves even in the courts and apartments of the ancient castle, where they were slain together with their women and children. The brave Abdurrhaman fell. Two thousand men, who had taken refuge in one of the castle squares, alone received quarter. The grand vizier fled. A fearful revenge was taken by the emperor upon Hungary. A tribunal, known as the slaughter-house of Eperies, was held by General Caraffa. Every Hungarian suspected of having sided with Tököly was thrown into prison and cruelly tortured, and a great number were executed. Vengeance fell upon all who refused implicit obedience to Austria; the national right of election was annulled, and the hereditary right of the house of Habsburg proclaimed throughout Hungary. Charles of Lorraine was again victorious over the Turks at Mohacz, A.D. 1687. He was succeeded in the command by Louis, Margrave of Baden, who, in 1691, again beat the Turks at Szalankemen, but was compelled to yield his post to Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony. The inability of this prince induced the emperor to bestow the command on Eugene, prince of Savoy, whom Louis XIV. had, by personal ridicule, rendered his most implacable foe. Eugene, whose diminutive person, half concealed beneath an immense peruke and mounted on a tall horse, bore a most ludicrous appearance, was one of the greatest generals of his time and was idolized by his soldiery, whom he ever led to victory. In the battle of Zenta, he entirely broke the power of the Turks; he took Belgrade, and, by the peace of Carlowitz, confirmed Austria in the possession of the whole of Hungary. Ragoczy, A.D.

1699, again set up the standard of rebellion in Hungary, but was reduced to submission, and the next emperor, Joseph I., sought to conciliate the people by a greater show of lenity.

CCXXVII. *French Depredations*

The edict of Nantes, published by Louis XIV., had driven eight hundred thousand Reformers out of France. Servile Switzerland repulsed them from her inhospitable frontiers, and they emigrated to Holland, England, and, more particularly, to Brandenburg, where they were permitted by the great elector to settle at Berlin, A.D. 1685. Their gradual intermixture with the natives produced the peculiarly boastful and shrewd character for which the people of Berlin are proverbial. Louis, at the same time, continued his encroachments, seized Treves, harassed Lorraine and Alsace, and erected the fortress of Huningen,[1] opposite to Basel. The Swiss murmured, but, ever mercenary, furnished him with all the contingents he required, and, during the subsequent war, their number amounted to twenty-eight thousand seven hundred men. Valckenier, the Dutch envoy to Switzerland, at the same time, succeeded in raising eight thousand five hundred men from the Reformed cantons.

The possession of the Pfalz had long been the principal object of Louis's ambition. The Pfalzgraf, Charles Louis, who had been deprived of his inheritance by French intrigue, labored throughout the whole of his life to reconcile the various religious sects. At Friedrichsburg he built a church, named by him the Temple of Concord, in which he had the service successively performed according to the three Christian forms of worship, the Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic. He also abolished the severe laws against the

[1] Over the gateway stood the following inscription, "Ludovicus Magnus, rex Christianissimus, *Belgicus*, *Sequanicus*, *Germanicus*, pace Europæ concessâ, Huningam arcem, sociis tutelam, hostibus terrorem, exstruxit." Louis carried his contempt of the Baselese so far as to have a cannon founded for this fortress, with the inscription, "Si tu te remues, Bâle, Je te tue."

Anabaptists. His toleration drew colonists from every part of Germany, who again cultivated his wasted lands and rapidly restored Mannheim, in particular, to a state of prosperity. The capricious conduct of his consort, Charlotte of Hesse-Cassel, provoked a divorce, and he married Mademoiselle Louise von Degenfeld, by whom he had thirteen children, who, on account of the inequality of their mother's birth, were excluded from the succession. Of his two children by his former wife, the prince died early, and his daughter, Elisabeth Charlotte, he was, in 1671, persuaded by Louis XIV. to bestow upon Philip of Orleans, as security against all further attacks on the part of France. Louis's insolence was, however, thereby increased, and, under pretext of Charles Louis's having aided in again depriving him of Philippsburg, he demanded one hundred and fifty thousand florins by way of reparation and sent troops to Neustadt in order to enforce payment. Germersheim was declared dependent upon France, and the unfortunate elector, unsupported by the empire, died of chagrin, A.D. 1685.

Louis instantly claimed the inheritance for Philip, Charlotte's husband, without regard to the right of the house of Wittelsbach. The German princes, who had unscrupulously deserted the imperial free towns and the nobility of the empire in Alsace, and the Dutch republic were, at length, roused by this insolent attack on their hereditary rights, and, entering into a close confederacy, formed, A.D. 1686, the great alliance of Augsburg against France. Even Maximilian of Bavaria, who, under the guidance of Marshal Villars and of his mistresses, imitated all the vices of the French court, saw his family interests endangered by the destruction of the Pfalz, ranged himself on the emperor's side, and dismissed Villars, who, on quitting him, loaded him with abuse. The pope also, terrified at the audacity of the French monarch, once more pronounced in favor of Germany. Each side vied with the other in diplomatic wiles and intrigue. On the demise of Maximilian Henry of Cologne, William von Furstenberg, who had, by Louis's influ-

ence, been presented with a cardinal's hat, had been elected archbishop of Cologne by the bribed chapter and resided at Bonn under the protection of French troops. The citizens of Cologne, however, closed the gates against him and were aided by Brandenburg troops from Cleves and by the Bavarians. The election was abrogated by the emperor, the empire, and the pope, by whom Prince Joseph Clement of Bavaria was installed as archbishop of Cologne instead of the cardinal. The great league was, A.D. 1688, considerably strengthened by the accession of William of Orange to the throne of England in the place of his Catholic father-in-law, James II., who took refuge in France.

Louis XIV., foreseeing the commencement of a fresh and great struggle, hastened to anticipate the league, and, in the autumn of 1688, sent fifty thousand men, under General Montclas, into the Pfalz, which was left totally unprotected by the empire. The cities were easily taken; Treves, Spires, Worms, Offenburg, Mayence, and the fortress of Philippsburg, which offered but a short resistance, also fell. The electorates of Treves and Mayence were overrun and plundered. Coblentz and the castle of Heidelberg alone withstood the siege. Louis, meanwhile, unsatisfied with occupying and plundering these countries, followed the advice of his minister, Louvois, and, as far as was in his power, laid waste the Pfalz and the rest of the Rhenish and Swabian frontier provinces, partly to avenge his non-acquisition of these fertile territories, partly with a view of hindering their occupation by a German army. Montclas and Melac, the latter of whom boasted that he would fight for his king against all the powers of heaven and of hell, zealously executed their master's commands. Worms, Spires, Frankenthal, Alzei, Oberwesel, Andernach, Kochheim, and Kreuznach were reduced to ashes, the inhabitants murdered or dragged into France and compelled to recant. In Spires, the imperial vaults were broken open, and the remains of the emperors desecrated. Similar scenes were enacted on the right bank of the Rhine. Mannheim, Oppenheim, Laden-

burg, Weinheim, Heppenheim, Durlach, Bruchsal, Rastadt, Germsheim, Baden, Bretten, Pforzheim, were burned to the ground. Heidelberg greatly suffered; the castle held out. The French advanced thence up the Neckar, plundered Heilbronn, Esslingen, Swabian Hall, took the Asberg and plundered the arsenal, but were repulsed from Gœppingen and Schorndorf, where the women inspirited the men by their example. Wurzburg, Bamberg, Nuremberg, etc., were threatened with destruction and heavily mulcted. Frankfort on the Maine, Rotenburg on the Tauber, the latter of which was surrounded by seventeen villages in flames, made a valiant defence. Feuquières was routed before Ulm, and numbers of the fugitive French were slain by the enraged peasantry. Ehingen was, in retaliation, burned to the ground. Tubingen was taken and sacked by Montclas, who was, in his turn, deprived of his booty before Freudenstadt by the peasants of the Black Forest. The authorities of Stuttgard, struck with terror, opened the gates to the French against the wishes of the people, who loudly demanded arms. Melac attempted to fire the city, but was expelled by the infuriated peasantry and by the Swabian Landwehr, under Charles, duke of Baden, and succeeded with difficulty in carrying off his booty and the hostages he had taken as security for the payment of the fine imposed by him upon the city. The French also penetrated into Upper Swabia and burned Villingen.—They overran the Lower Rhine, laid the territories of Liege, Juliers, etc., waste, and burned Siegburg, where they practiced every atrocity.—A list of twelve hundred cities and villages, that still remained to be burned, was exhibited by these brigand bands. In the spring, the Bohemian cities, Trautenau, Braunau, Klattau, were completely destroyed, and, on the 21st of June, four hundred houses were burned in Prague. Five of the incendiaries were taken, and, before their execution, confessed that the authors of the conflagration, one hundred and fifty in number, were accompanied by a Bohemian captain and by a merchant, the secret emissaries of France. With such tools did Louis work. He attempted

the life of William of Orange, the newly-elected monarch of England, A.D. 1689.

The phlegmatic emperor was at length roused and hurried the long-delayed levy of imperial troops. The great elector was dead, and his son, Frederick, unable to cause his will, by which his possessions were divided among his other children, to be invalidated without the concurrence of the emperor, openly declared against France and ceded the district of Schwiebus to the emperor. The petty princes, alarmed for their ancient privileges, now threatened to be trodden under foot by the despotic French monarch, also followed the general impulse for defence, and hence originated the decree of the Ratisbon diet, which, with unusual energy, expelled, A.D. 1689, every French agent from Germany and prohibited the reception of French servants and intercourse of any description with France, the emperor adding these words, "because France is to be regarded not only as the empire's most inveterate foe, but as that of the whole of Christendom, nay, as even worse than the Turk." Leopold, for the sake of promoting the unity of Germany, even laid aside his ancient religious prejudices and bestowed the eighth electoral dignity upon Ernest Augustus, duke of Brunswick-Hanover, which placed the Protestant electors, Saxony, Brandenburg, Hanover, on an equal footing with their Catholic brethren: Bohemia, Bavaria, and the Pfalz, the new elector of the Pfalz, Philip, belonging to the Catholic branch of Neuburg. Wolfenbuttel, actuated by fraternal jealousy, protested against the elevation of Hanover to the electoral dignity.—The emperor also turned to Switzerland and revived the memory of her former connection with the empire; how easily might she not have prevented the devastation of the Rhenish province by falling upon the enemy's flank! But she no longer sympathized with her German kindred, and even threatened the emperor in case he refused to draw his troops off her frontiers to the Upper Rhine, while she continued to furnish the French king with his most valuable soldiery. Dr. Fatio, who, A.D. 1691, raised a rebellion

against the bribed and tyrannical government of Basel, was arrested, cruelly tortured, and executed with two of his companions.

The war commenced; but the dullness and disunion of the great league threw every advantage on the side of Louis. William of Orange, occupied in confirming his possession of the English crown, neglected Holland with a view of flattering his new subjects. The states-general remained devoted to him both under their president, Fagel, who died, A.D. 1688, and his successor, Heinsius; these men were, however, no military leaders, nor was the princely Count von Waldeck, the Dutch commander-in-chief; and the emperor, intent upon following up his success in Hungary, had sent thither his best generals and troops. Caprara, whom he despatched into Holland, fell into a dispute with Schœning, the Brandenburg marshal, and they were, consequently, merely in each other's way. The elector of Bavaria, insincere in his professions, held back, and even when elected stadtholder of the Spanish Netherlands discovered equal indifference. The elector of Saxony regained Mayence, but died in camp, and Mayence fell under the command of General Thungen, the greatest patriot of the day, who, in order to strike terror into the French emissaries, condemned the first French incendiaries, who fell into his hands, to be burned alive. Schœning, in conjunction with Saxony, drove the French out of Heilbronn; and Frederick, elector of Brandenburg, aided by the Dutch, took Bonn, A.D. 1689, that had been ceded by the archbishop of Cologne to France. Waldeck was, nevertheless, defeated, A.D. 1690, at Fleurus, by a French force, his superior in number, under the Marshal de Luxemburg; and Cornelius Evertsen, the son of the Evertsen who fell in 1666, was also beaten off Bevesier by a superior French fleet under Tourville, who was, in his turn, defeated, A.D. 1691, by the English under Allmonde; notwithstanding which, the French took Namur and bombarded Liege. In 1692, the Dutch gained a brilliant victory at La Hogue, but William, who had returned from England, was defeated by the Mar-

shal de Luxemburg at Steenkerken, and the French under Catïnat were, at the same time, victorious in Savoy and again penetrated into and devastated Swabia, turning their chief rage upon Heidelberg and the splendid castle, commanding that city, the residence of the Pfalzgraf, whose mighty towers were blown up and converted into the ruin now the delight of the traveller. The incendiary bands then mounted the Neckar. The duke, Charles Frederick, the administrator of Wurtemberg, was taken captive; his ransom was fixed at half a million livres. The mother of the infant duke, Eberhard, was threatened in Stuttgard, which mainly owed its preservation to the courage of the peasantry; the whole of the country was plundered; the magnificent monastery of Hirschau, the cities of Calw, Marbach, Nuenburg, Vaihingen, etc., were laid in ashes, and numbers of hostages, taken as security for the payment of the enormous sums levied upon the inhabitants, were starved to death on account of the delay in the payment of the money. These predatory incursions were renewed in the ensuing year, and Winnenden, Baknang, etc., were burned. Rheinfels, nobly defended by the Hessians, was long and fruitlessly besieged. Numbers of the French fell. Louis, Margrave of Baden, was now sent by the emperor from Hungary to the Rhine and that general instantly invaded Alsace, but, on attempting to penetrate into the heart of France, A.D. 1693, the imperial troops, more particularly the Saxons, refused to follow, and he was compelled to return. William of Orange also suffered a second defeat in the Netherlands, near Neerwinden. Villeroi followed in the steps of Luxemburg, who had bombarded and almost entirely destroyed Brussels. The allies regained Namur, A.D. 1694, but, nevertheless, gradually displayed less energy.

The French, on the other hand, made considerable progress in Spain, where, notwithstanding the gallant defence made by George, Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, they took Barcelona. Savoy was also compelled to sue for peace. Mayence was again attacked, and a popular insurrection,

caused by the heavy war taxes, took place simultaneously at Amsterdam, A.D. 1696. A disgraceful peace was, consequently, concluded at Ryswick, A.D. 1697, by which Louis XIV., besides Lorraine, the Pfalz, Breisach, Freiburg, and Philippsburg, retained all his conquests, among others Strasburg. It is worthy of remark that the French language was, at this period, made use of in transacting all diplomatic affairs, the French ambassadors no longer tolerating the use of Latin.

Philip of the Pfalz instantly enforced the maxim, "Cujus regio, ejus religio," throughout his new possessions and emulated Louis XIV. in tyranny toward the Protestants, who emigrated in great numbers; and Louis, notwithstanding the peace, marched troops into the Wurtemberg county of Mumpelgard, where he established the Catholic form of service, A.D. 1699. The Jesuits, at the same time, recommenced the persecution of the heretics in the imperial provinces, and numbers of Silesians abandoned their native soil.

The complete neglect of the imperial fortresses on the Upper Rhine was, after such cruel experience, perfectly in accordance with the spirit of the age.

CCXXVIII. *German Princes on Foreign Thrones*

While Germany was thus a prey to external foes, a number of the reigning families in Europe became extinct, and, by a strange whim of fate, bequeathed their thrones to German princes. This circumstance, however, far from proving beneficial to the German empire, greatly contributed to estrange her native princes and to render their hereditary provinces dependent upon their new possessions.

The house of Oldenburg had long reigned in Denmark and directed its policy against the empire. Schleswig and Holstein were, as provinces subordinate to Denmark, governed by a prince of this house in the Danish interest similarly with Oldenburg, when, in 1666, the elder branch became extinct.

In Sweden, the Pfalzic dynasty, raised, A.D. 1654, to the throne, also pursued an anti-German system, that of Oxenstierna, for the aggrandizement of the North.

The house of Orange was no sooner seated, A.D. 1688, on the throne of England, than the interests of Germany were sacrificed to those of Great Britain.

Frederick Augustus, brother to John George IV., elector of Saxony, travelled over the half of Europe during his youth. A giant in size and strength, he took delight in the dangers and pleasures pursued by the French gallants of that period. On his arrival at Madrid, he mingled with the combatants in a bull-fight, seized the most savage of the bulls by the horns and dashed him to the ground. No woman withstood his seductions, and, after escaping all the dangers with which he was threatened by the jealous Southerns, he returned to Saxony, where, A.D. 1694, he succeeded his brother on the electoral throne. Louis XIV. was his model, and, aided by his favorite, Flemming, on whom he had bestowed the title of Count, he began to subvert Saxony. The extravagance of his predecessor was economy when compared with his. One mistress supplanted another; all cost incredible sums. His household was placed upon an immense footing; palaces, churches, retreats (as, for instance, Morizburg, the Saxon Versailles, notorious for its wanton fetes), were erected; the most costly chef-d'œuvres were purchased with tons of gold; the "green vaults," a collection of useless treasures, was swelled with fresh valuables and curiosities of every description. And for all this his little territory paid. Not a murmur escaped the people until the elector, instead of raising his numerous army as usual from volunteers, levied recruits by force, and a revolt ensued, A.D. 1696. The rebellion was quelled, and the recruits were forced by the infliction of torture to swear fealty to the colors.

The ensuing year found the elector at the summit of his ambition. He was elected, by means of bribing the Waiwodes and gaining Russia and the emperor of Germany over to his interests, king of Poland. Russia was at that

period under the rule of Peter the Great, who raised her power to a height destined at a future period to endanger Europe. Sweden was at that time Russia's most formidable opponent, and Peter, with the view of paralyzing the influence of that monarchy over Poland, favored the elevation of the elector of Saxony. The emperor was won over by the recantation of the new sovereign. The reception of the successor of John Frederick, the sturdy opponent to Catholicism, into the bosom of the ancient church was indeed a triumph. Shortly previous to this event, Augustus had been involved in some intrigues at Vienna, where he is said to have watched unseen the raising of an apparition intended to work upon the imagination of the archduke, afterward the emperor, Joseph I., and to have thrown the priest, who personated the ghost, out of the window into the palace court. He also gained over the Jesuits by favoring their establishment in Poland. The elevation of the house of Saxony, on the other hand, deprived it of its station as the head of the Protestant princes and of all the advantages it had thereby gained since the Reformation, and Brandenburg became henceforward the champion of Protestantism and the first Protestant power in Germany.

The frustration of the schemes of Louis XIV. upon Poland and the ignominious retreat of the Prince de Conti, the French competitor for that throne, after the expulsion of his fleet under John Barth from the harbor of Dantzig, were the sole advantages gained on this occasion by Germany. Augustus was, A.D. 1697, elected king of Poland. Still, notwithstanding his knee being kissed in token of homage by the whole of the Polish nobility and the magnificence of his state (his royal robes alone cost a million dollars), he was compelled to swear to some extremely humiliating *pacta conventa* and to refrain from bringing his consort, who steadily refused to embrace the Catholic faith, into the country. The privileges of the Poles were secured; Saxony was taxed to meet the expenses incurred by her sovereign, and was compelled to furnish Poland with money and troops,

while the Catholic prince, Egon von Furstenberg, the stadtholder during the absence of her sovereign, drained the coffers of the Protestants, and, these sources proving insufficient, some of the hereditary demesnes were sold, among others the ancestral castle of Wettin. Augustus was finally reduced to the necessity of issuing a debased coinage. Alchemists were also had recourse to. One, named Klettenberg, was beheaded for failing in the discovery of gold; another, Bœttger, while imprisoned at Kœnigstein, invented porcelain, by the fabrication of which the elector realized immense sums.—The loss of the inheritance of Saxon-Lauenburg, whose last duke, Julius Francis, expired, A.D. 1689, was severely felt by Saxony. The house of Anhalt, a branch of that of Lauenburg, had the first claim, but was too weak to compete for its right. That of Saxony had been confirmed by the emperor, Maximilian I., but John George, neglecting to take possession of it, was superseded by George William of Brunswick-Celle, who occupied the duchy with his troops, and Augustus, too much occupied with Poland to assert his claim, consented to receive an indemnity of one million one hundred thousand florins.

On the death of the great elector of Brandenburg, A.D. 1688, his will was declared invalid by his son, Frederick, who maintained the indivisibility of the territory of Brandenburg against the claims of the children of his stepmother, Dorothea, on whom he bitterly avenged himself. Frederick's mean and misshapen person, the consequence of an accident in his infancy, gained for him the sobriquet of the royal Æsop. His government was at first highly popular. Dankelmann, his prime minister, who had formerly saved his life, was severe but just. The elector had, however, a taste for pomp and luxury, in which he was encouraged by his favorite, von Kolbe, who placed his wife in his master's arms. This notorious person was the daughter of a publican at Emmerick, and, notwithstanding the title of Countess von Wartenberg, bestowed upon her by the elector, often caused him extreme embarrassment by the coarseness of her man-

ners. It was by her means that her husband succeeded in his base machinations. Dankelmann was suddenly arrested and thrown into a dungeon at Spandau, and Kolbe succeeded him as minister, with unlimited authority, under the name of Count von Wartenberg. Ignorant and mean, he solely retained his office by flattering the weak vanity and ambition of the elector. The elevation of William of Orange to the throne of England, and of Augustus of Saxony to that of Poland, roused Frederick's jealousy, of which Kolbe took advantage to inspire him with a desire for the possession of a crown, and the transformation of the duchy of Prussia, then no longer a Polish feof, into a kingdom was resolved upon, and its recognition was effected by means of six million dollars. The Jesuits in Vienna received two hundred thousand. They treated the petty kingdom with ridicule, but Prince Eugene, who foresaw that the successors of this new monarch would increase in power and arrogance, said, "Those ministers by whom the king of Prussia has been recognized deserve to be hanged." The pope also strongly protested against the weak concession made by the emperor.

A solemn coronation and the creation of the order of the black eagle took place, A.D. 1701, at Kœnigsberg. Frederick placed the crown on his own brow, and then on that of his consort. This princess favored the Pietists and had placed the celebrated Franke, the founder of the Orphan Asylum at Halle, near her person. He was, however, dismissed by the king, who declared salvation to be the natural prerogative of the kings of the earth. Frederick aped the stiff etiquette of the Spanish court and surrounded his person and his palace with Swiss guards, while the ceremonious attitude of his court, like the altar service in the Catholic churches, proclaimed the majesty of this terrestrial deity, who merely laid aside his dignity in his smoking-room. The royal dignity cost enormous sums. Kolbe, who at the same time filled his own purse, invented the most extraordinary taxes in order to extract money from the people, as, for instance, on wigs, dresses, hogs' bristles, etc. Alchemy was also had recourse

to. An alchemist, who had assumed the title of Don Dominico Caëtano, Conte de Ruggiero, and had grossly deceived the king, was hanged on a gilt gallows in a Roman toga made of gold paper. The fading beauty and increasing impudence of the Countess von Wartenberg also led to Kolbe's downfall, and a dispute arising between him and one of his creatures, Count Wittgenstein, on account of the large sums taken by the latter from the fire-insurance office, the whole of his criminal proceedings were discovered, and he and his accomplices were punished. Kolbe and his infamous wife, however, escaped with honorable banishment and a pension of twenty-four thousand dollars. A new palace was built at Berlin, where the citizens, whose taste was in some degree influenced by the French settlers, vied with the courtiers in luxury and splendor.

CCXXIX. *The Northern War—Charles the Twelfth*

On the accession of Charles XII., in his seventeenth year, to the throne of Sweden, the neighboring powers, deeming the moment favorable, attempted to humble the power of that kingdom. The league entered into, A.D. 1699, by Russia, Denmark, and Saxon-Poland, was brought about by Patkul, a patriotic Livonian, who had been greatly ill-treated by the Swedes. The rights and privileges of the Livonians had been infringed by Charles XI., and a deputation from the Estates, in which Patkul was included, had, notwithstanding the safe-conduct granted by the king, been abused. Patkul fled and was sentenced to death *in contumaciam*. Peter, the czar of Russia, sent him as his ambassador to Saxon-Poland, and took advantage of the quarrel between Livonia and Sweden to extend his sovereignty along the Gulf of Finland to the detriment of Sweden.—The hostility of the Danes had been also roused by the voluntary annexation of Schleswig-Holstein to Sweden. In 1684, an attempt made by Christian V. of Denmark to reannex Schleswig with Denmark was frustrated by the intervention of the neighboring powers. Christian Albert of Schleswig-Holstein

expired A.D. 1694. His son, Frederick, married Hedwig Sophia, the sister of Charles XII., with whom he formed so strict a friendship as to allow his territory to be occupied by Swedish troops.

On the formation of the league against Sweden, the Danes invaded Holstein, and Augustus, king of Poland, overran Swedish Livonia and unsuccessfully besieged Riga. Narwa also withstood the Russian hordes, which, partly armed with arrows and clubs and in wild disorder, were driven to the assault by the terror of the knout. The allies had, however, falsely judged the youthful scion of the house of Wittelsbach. Charles XII. unsheathed his sword never again to restore it to the scabbard. Suddenly invading Denmark, he bombarded Copenhagen, compelled the king to accede to his terms of peace, and, in the winter of 1700, crossed over to Livonia. Without awaiting the arrival of reinforcements, he advanced hastily against the czar, and, with merely nine thousand men, defeated forty thousand Russians, or, as some have it, one hundred thousand with eight thousand, at Narwa. After driving the Russians out of the country, he attacked the Saxons and Poles on the Duna, where, marshalling his troops in the midst of the stream as they were beaten from the bank, he again led them to victory. Augustus sent the beautiful Aurora von Kœnigsmark to him in the hope of entangling him in an intrigue, but Charles refused to see her, and, on meeting her accidentally in a hollow way, whence there was no retreat, merely bowed, and, without uttering a syllable, turned his horse's head and rode away. He was, during the whole of his life, remarkable for his abhorrence of women and wine. An army was vainly brought into the field by Riese, the licentious Saxon general, whose effeminacy rendered him an object of contempt to the Poles. Charles was everywhere victorious; in 1702, at Clissow, where he captured five hundred ladies belonging to the Polish court, whom he sent home unharmed. His brother-in-law, Frederick of Holstein, fell on this occasion. A broken leg, which retained Charles at Cracow, retarded the cam-

paign, notwithstanding the sharp pursuit of Augustus for four days by the Swedes under Reinschild, from whom he eventually escaped. Charles was, meanwhile, again compelled to oppose the Russians, who invaded Finland, and Poland remained in tranquillity until 1705, when he again entered that country and took Warsaw, where he condemned the Saxon general, Patkul, who is said to have defended that city, as a Livonian by birth and a Swedish subject in the service of the enemy, to death. Had Charles, instead of directing his attention almost solely upon Poland and Saxony, turned the whole of his forces at first against Russia and followed up the victory of Narwa by the destruction of the budding creations of Peter the Great on the Gulf of Finland, his fate, and probably that of Europe, might have been more fortunate. His thoughts were, however, solely directed to the elevation of another sovereign on the throne of Poland, and young Sobieski having been surprised by Augustus at Ohlau in Silesia and carried into Saxony, Stanislaus Lesczinsky was elected in his stead by the partisans of Sweden and Poland. The Swedes were, meanwhile, kept in check at Punitz by the Saxon general, Count von der Schulenburg, who procrastinated the war by his skilful manœuvring. His retreat across the Oder is celebrated in the annals of warfare. The czar being again driven out of Lithuania by Charles, and Schulenburg, on advancing to his aid, being completely routed by Reinschild at Fraustadt, A.D. 1706, Augustus fell back upon Russia, while Charles seized the opportunity to march rapidly through Silesia into Saxony, where he was hailed as the defender of the Protestant faith, with an enthusiasm scarcely inferior to that with which Gustavus Adolphus had formerly been welcomed.[1]

[1] Augustus had rendered himself highly unpopular in Saxony by his tyranny and still more so by his secession from the Protestant church. He was represented, in a caricature of the times, driving Saxony into Poland on a wheelbarrow. The popular song,

"O du lieber Augustin
Alles ist hin
Polen ist weg,"

also belongs to this period

This bold step struck Augustus with terror, and he instantly sent his councillors, Imhof and Pfingsten, from Poland with full powers to conclude peace with the successful Swede, and a treaty was hastily concluded between them and Charles, which alone required the ratification of the Polish monarch. But Augustus, who had kept his allies in ignorance of the pending negotiations, had, meanwhile, been compelled to aid the Russians in an engagement at Calisch against the Swedes, in which the former proving victorious, he entered Warsaw in triumph and declared the report of peace having been concluded by him with Charles, false. Charles was, however, already in possession of Saxony, and Augustus was speedily compelled by necessity to abandon his Russian ally and to sue for the peace he had just denied. A conference was held between the two monarchs, whose personal appearance contrasted as strikingly as their characters; Augustus, gigantic in person, magnificently but effeminately attired in false and curling locks and cloth of gold; Charles, less in stature, but a thorough soldier, with a small hat on his closely shaven head (a style that was afterward imitated by Frederick the Great and Napoleon), dressed in a coat of coarse blue cloth with copper buttons, with enormous boots and a long sword. Peace was concluded at Altranstädt. Augustus renounced the throne of Poland and delivered up young Sobieski and the unfortunate Patkul, who, although at that time Russian ambassador at Dresden, was claimed by Charles as a Livonian, a Swedish subject by birth, and barbarously put to the rack. According to Patkul's own account, Augustus delivered him up in revenge for his having once ventured to reproach him for having spent a large sum of money, intended for the levy of troops, on his mistresses and in the purchase of jewelry. Flemming, who was also demanded by Charles, knew his master too well to trust him and withdrew a while into Prussia. Augustus, in order to appease the indignation displayed by Russia on the conclusion of this peace, threw his unfortunate councillors, Imhof and Pfingsten,

under a false charge of having overstepped their authority, into prison.

The residence of Charles XII. in Saxony, A.D. 1706, was very remarkable. On his march through Silesia, the persecuted Protestants in that country supplicated his aid. He earnestly addressed the emperor on their behalf, sent four regiments up the country with orders, in case of necessity, to retake possession by force of the churches, of which the Protestants had been deprived by the Jesuits, and compelled the emperor, who, at that time occupied with France, avoided raising a fresh antagonist, to restore one hundred and twenty-five churches to the Lutherans and to permit six new ones to be built; but Charles no sooner quitted the country in order to penetrate into the steppes of Russia than Joseph published a severe edict against the increasing apostasy, on account of the numbers of Protestants who now avowed their faith and crowded to the new churches. Banishment for life and confiscation were the punishments awarded to every apostate Catholic.—Charles fixed his headquarters at Altranstädt in Saxony, where, as sovereign of the country, he levied contributions and recruited his army. While here, he received a visit from Marlborough, the celebrated English general, who persuaded him to grant peace to Germany, then harassed by France, and to turn his arms against Russia. An alliance between France, Sweden, and Turkey, at that period, would have ruined the empire.

In 1709, Charles invaded Russia at the head of forty thousand men, most of whom had been raised in Germany, crossed the Beresina (Napoleon followed in his steps) at Borissow, took the Russian fortifications at Holowczyn (swimming the river Wabis, in which he sank up to his neck) by storm, at one time fell among the Calmucks, numbers of whom he slew with his own hand, and pursued the flying enemy until he was himself lost among the wide forests and morasses. The artillery sank in the swamps, the men perished for want of food. General Löwenhaupt, when attempting to join him with a fresh body of troops from Sweden, was waylaid and

defeated, after a desperate conflict that lasted three days, by the czar at Liesna, notwithstanding which he succeeded in joining him with six thousand men. Charles, after long and vainly endeavoring to overtake the retreating enemy, who (as during Napoleon's invasion) laid the country waste through which he advanced, now led his wearied army southward in order to form a junction with Mazeppa, the Hetman of the Cossacks, who hoped by his aid to shake off the Russian yoke. The country through which the Swedish monarch passed had been converted into a desert by the flying Russians, and, in order to gain better winter quarters, he advanced, in the depth of the winter of 1708–9, as far as Gaditsch. Thousands perished of cold on the way thither, and, in the spring and summer, his army was so much reduced in strength that the Russians regained courage and ventured with their overwhelming numbers to attack him as he lay before Pultowa. The Russian army had been, moreover, disciplined, and was at the time commanded by Germans (Rönne, Goltz, Pflug, Bauer, and Kruse). Charles, who had been wounded in the foot while incautiously exposing himself to the fire from the walls, was borne about in a litter, which, during the engagement, was shattered by the Russian artillery. The Swedes, whose ranks had been thinned by cold and starvation, were, notwithstanding their bravery, completely put to the rout; Charles escaped with extreme difficulty. The last salvo was given by Prince Maximilian Emanuel of Wurtemberg, who commanded a Swedish regiment. He was taken prisoner and was received with great honor by the czar. Charles fled with a few of his followers into Turkey. The division of the Swedish army under Löwenhaupt was overtaken and captured by the Russians on the Dnieper.

The fugitive monarch was royally welcomed by the Porte and allowed to fix his residence at Bender, whence he conducted a Turkish war against Russia. The grand vizier had already taken the field at the head of two hundred thousand men and had closely shut up the czar in the Crimea. Charles,

to whom, to his great mortification, the command of the army had not been intrusted, galloped impatiently into the camp, but arrived too late to hinder the czar's escape. From this day dates the prosperity of Russia. The plans of the Swedish monarch were frustrated by a German woman, Martha, a native of Rinteln in Esthonia, a Lutheran, the maid-servant of a clergyman of Marienburg. She married a Swedish dragoon, was carried off by the Russians, became successively slave and mistress to Scheremetoff, Menzikoff, and the czar, and, under the name of Catherine, czarina and empress of all the Russias. With her jewels she bribed the grand vizier to allow the Russians to escape. Her ring was afterward discovered among the treasures of the murdered vizier.

Livonia and Esthonia, until now belonging to Sweden, although by right German, fell, on the defeat of the Swedes at Pultowa, under the rule of Russia. Riga capitulated, A.D. 1710, after a heroic defence, and Courland was acquired by Peter, who married the last duke of that country to his niece, Anna, and killed him with excessive drinking. On Dantzig, of which he also coveted the possession, he imposed a tribute of four hundred thousand dollars.

Peter next attacked Pomerania with a view of completely annihilating the power of Sweden. Russia, Denmark, and Poland, where Augustus had reascended the throne, again coalesced. An anti-league, known as the alliance of The Hague, was formed for the maintenance of peace and for the protection of Sweden against her neighbors, by England, Holland, and the emperor. Little energy was, however, displayed on her behalf. The Danes who had invaded Sweden were, it is true, compelled to retire, but were allowed to take possession of the bishoprics of Bremen and Verdun, in which they were aided by an insurrection of the inhabitants, occasioned by the tyranny of the Swedish governors. Stade was burned down. The Saxons seized the whole of Poland on the departure of Stanislaus, who, abandoned by his partisans, took refuge with Charles in Turkey. In 1712, the

allied powers of Saxony and Russia took possession of Swedish Pomerania, Stralsund and Wismar alone excepted. Stenbock, who had brought a fresh body of sixteen thousand men from Sweden, defeated the allies at Gadebusch, but incurred the detestation of the Germans by the cruelty with which, during the severe winter of 1713, he burned down the city of Altona, which belonged to Denmark, in revenge for the destruction of Stade. The inhabitants, ten thousand in number, driven out of the burning city, were denied a refuge in Hamburg, and numbers of them perished of cold and hunger. Stenbock was shortly afterward shut up near Tœnning by the enemy and forced to yield. (Capitulation of Oldenwoth, A.D. 1713.) The czar avenged Altona, on whose unfortunate inhabitants he bestowed a thousand rubles, by burning Garz and Wolgast to the ground and treating their inhabitants with horrid barbarity. These successes decided Prussia, until now vacillating, to join the anti-Swedish league, A.D. 1714, for which she was rewarded by the promise of the future possession of Stettin.

Turkey, although threatened by the rising power of the Russian empire, was a prey to the petty intrigues of the seraglio, and turned a deaf ear to the remonstrances of Charles XII., who urged the necessity of carrying on the war. He received a hint to quit the country, but, instead of complying, barricaded his house, which he defended against several thousand Turks, numbers of whom fell by his hand, but was at length seized and carried out of the country. With equal obstinacy, he remained for ten months in bed at Demotika. He had, notwithstanding, succeeded in successively overthrowing four grand viziers, and his long stay in Turkey was fully justified by the hope of placing himself at the head of a powerful Turkish army. After having exhausted every means of persuasion in his negotiations to that effect with the Porte, he once more mounted on horseback, and, solely accompanied by Colonel During, made in sixteen days a circuit through Hungary, Austria, Bavaria, the Pfalz, Westphalia, and Mecklenburg to Stralsund, in or-

der to avoid the Saxons and Prussians, and passing on his way through Cassel, where, notwithstanding the marriage that had lately taken place between his second sister, Ulrica Eleonore, and Frederick, hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel, he preserved a strict incognito. The conduct of the newly-married pair, who had, during his absence, deeply intrigued with the Swedish nobility, who, in the event of Charles's death, projected the establishment of an oligarchical government, had greatly displeased the king, who had frustrated Frederick's hopes of succeeding to the throne by declaring the young duke of Holstein, his elder sister's son, his lawful heir.—Charles reached Stralsund during a dark November night, A.D. 1714. The city was at the time besieged by his numerous opponents, and, after gallantly defending it for some months, he was at length compelled to fly to Sweden. Wismar also fell.

The war was subsequently carried on at sea, generally to the prejudice of Sweden, and Charles made some attempts upon Norway. Gœrtz, the minister of Holstein, who entered into a close compact with Charles, and, by his diplomatic arts, endeavored to dissolve the anti-Swedish league, nevertheless displayed the greatest energy. The jealousy of Denmark being roused by a slight advantage gained by the Russian fleet over that of Sweden, Gœrtz seized the opportunity to open secret negotiations with the czar, and a treaty was set on foot by which Russia was to retain her conquests on the Gulf of Finland, and Stanislaus was to be replaced on the throne of Poland. An alliance was also proposed between Charles and Peter's daughter, the Grandduchess Anna. The whole of the negotiations were, however, detected by the seizure of a Swedish despatch by the Danes. Denmark naturally viewed an alliance between Sweden and Russia with dread; Saxony beheld Poland slipping from her grasp; Hanover saw the downfall of her projects upon Bremen and Verdun, and Prussia that of hers upon Stettin; Charles's marriage endangered alike the succession of Frederick of Hesse and that of the

young duke of Holstein to the throne, while the power he thereby acquired gave a death-blow to the aspirations of the Swedish aristocracy, and his assassination, before Gœrtz's arrival in Sweden with the treaty already signed by the czar, was consequently, resolved upon. The leader of this conspiracy and the number of his accomplices are still unknown, but it appears that foreign powers, besides a faction in Sweden, were implicated in this affair. A small Swedish force under Armfeldt had perished from cold while crossing the mountains that separate Norway from Sweden; and another, commanded by Charles in person, was besieging the fortress of Friedrichshall in the south of Norway, when the king was shot through the head while leaning over the redoubt, December 11, 1718. Frederick of Hesse-Cassel instantly placed himself at the head of the council of war, divided the whole contents of the military chest among the superior officers, and hastily withdrew to Sweden to make terms with the aristocracy, on whose favor his accession to the throne solely depended. The duke of Holstein, who had also helped himself to the contents of the military chest, was excluded from the succession, and Schleswig was, without his concurrence, ceded by Sweden to Denmark, in order to pacify her foreign neighbors. The czar was richly indemnified for the frustration of his projected alliance by the cession of the whole of Livonia and Esthonia, while Saxony was confirmed in the possession of Poland, Hanover in that of the bishoprics of Bremen and Verdun, besides receiving an indemnity of a million dollars, and Prussia was gratified with the gift of Stettin, the whole of the tract of country lying between the Oder and the Peene, and three million dollars. Gœrtz fell a sacrifice to this peaceful policy and was sentenced to the block by the Swedish war council.

Northern Pomerania and its capital, Stralsund, now comprised the whole of the Swedish possessions on this side the Baltic. The power of Sweden had deeply fallen. On the demise of Frederick of Hesse in 1751, Adolf Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp mounted the throne, but was powerless

against the aristocracy, which ere long fell under Russian influence.

Russia had now supplanted Sweden as the greatest northern power. In 1700, the city of Petersburg had been built on the Gulf of Finland by the czar, who had drawn thither a number of German artificers, introduced a superior style of discipline into his army, and created a navy. The German Livonians also aided his endeavors for the extension of the power of Russia to the prejudice of their fatherland. Russian ambassadors bent the courts of Sweden, Denmark, and Poland to his interests. The Russian force under Menzikoff remained stationary in Germany and perpetrated the most shameful acts of violence. Hamburg was compelled to pay a contribution of two hundred thousand dollars, Lubeck one hundred thousand silver marks. In Mecklenburg, they seized Posto under pretext of aiding the duke, Charles Leopold of Schwerin, against his rebellious Estates. The nobility fled the country. A part of the Russian troops subsequently returned home, leaving a body of sixteen thousand men under General Weide to vex the country, nor was it until the conclusion of peace in 1719 that they were finally driven across the frontier by the Hanoverian troops after an obstinate defence at Walsmuhlen. Charles Leopold was deposed and his brother, Christian Louis, placed at the head of the government. Charles fled to Dantzig, where he formed a conspiracy against his brother's life, which was discovered, and several of his accomplices were put to the wheel, hanged, or beheaded, A.D. 1724. He afterward attempted to revolutionize and regain possession of the country by force, and for that purpose collected several thousand of the peasantry, but was defeated at Neustadt and a second time expelled, A.D. 1733.

The issue of the Northern war produced a melancholy reaction in Poland. The restoration of Augustus to the throne, by Russia, had greatly embittered the Poles, and the Saxons fell frequent victims to secret assassination. Augustus, in revenge, sought to curb the spirit of the peo

ple by the most violent measures, and placed them totally under the control of the Jesuits. In 1724, the citizens of Thorn being compelled to bend the knee during a passing procession by the Jesuits, by whom some innocent persons were moreover treated with horrible cruelty, the populace revolted, rescued one of their prisoners, and destroyed part of the Jesuit college. The burgomaster, Rœsner, together with eight of the citizens, were, in revenge, sentenced to the block by a criminal court, established for that purpose by the king. The executioner, tearing the heart from the palpitating bosom of one of the victims, exclaimed, "Behold a Lutheran's heart." Eighty of the citizens were thrown into prison, the Lutheran church was given up to the Jesuits, and a heavy contribution laid upon the city.

CCXXX. *The Spanish War of Succession*

On the Rhine, a fresh war with France, more fearful in character than any of its predecessors, was carried on simultaneously with that in the North, which caused little disturbance to Germany. Charles II., the last of the Habsburg dynasty in Spain, expired, A.D. 1700, leaving two daughters, Maria Theresa, consort of Louis XIV., and Margaretha Theresa, consort of the emperor, Leopold I. The Spanish throne being hereditary also in the female line, the agnati, the male branch of the Habsburgs in Austria, were, consequently, excluded from the succession, which fell to Maria Theresa as the eldest daughter of the deceased monarch, but she, prior to her union with Louis, having solemnly renounced her right, it passed to her younger sister, the German empress. The French ambassadors and the pope, who once more favored France against Germany, had, nevertheless, induced the weak-minded Spanish monarch to declare in his will the renunciation of Maria Theresa null, and Philip, duke d'Anjou, his successor. This will was protested against by the emperor. The Spaniards were, even at this period, too degraded to give force to public opinion and

looked on with indifference, while Austria and France strove for the rich prize, which, besides Spain, comprehended Naples, Sicily, Milan, the Netherlands, and a large territory in America, and a furious contest, in which all the powers of Western Europe declared, as their interests dictated, in favor either of France or Austria, ensued.

England and Holland, the hereditary foes of France, sided with Austria. William of Orange returned from England in ill health and expired at Loo, A.D. 1702, after zealously forwarding the league against France. He was succeeded on the English throne by Anne, the sister of his deceased consort, Mary, one of the daughters of the deposed king, James II. The widow of George, prince of Denmark, she was already in league with the Protestant party and had no other alternative than to pursue the policy of her predecessor on the throne of England, by which she at once secured the affection of her subjects. Marlborough, the husband of the queen's friend and companion, was at the head of affairs in England, and Heinsius at the head of those of Holland. Both of these statesmen followed in the steps of William of Orange. Prussia was won over by Austria by being elevated to a kingdom, and Hanover by the gift of the electoral hat. Saxony was too deeply occupied with Poland to take part in the war with France; her king, however, subsidized by Holland and England, sent troops with meagre pay into the field and pocketed the overplus.

Joseph Clement, elector of Cologne, notwithstanding the protestation of his chapter, and, on this occasion, also his brother Maximilian Emanuel, elector of Bavaria, whom France had promised to confirm in the hereditary possession of the Netherlands, unmoved by the urgent entreaties of his Estates, again embraced the French cause. Antony Ulric of Wolfenbuttel, jealous of the electoral hat bestowed upon the house of Luneburg-Hanover, raised troops for France, in which he was imitated by the petty duke of Gotha. Both of these princes were speedily disarmed. The Swabian and Franconian circles, awed by Strasburg, de-

clared themselves neutral. In Italy, Louis XIV. was favored by Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, whose daughter he had united to his grandson Philip, the Spanish usurper, by Charles, duke of Mantua, and by the pope, who dreaded the preponderance of the imperial house in case of its accession to Milan, Naples, and Spain. Ragoczy, supported by the Jesuits and by French gold, again rose in Hungary.

The campaign was opened by the French in Italy, A.D. 1701. Marshal Catinat took possession of Lombardy and occupied all the Alpine passes, notwithstanding which, Prince Eugene, the commander of the imperial forces, eluded his vigilance by leading his army across the frightful and hitherto impassable rocks of the Val Fredda. The artillery and baggage were borne on the shoulders of the men or drawn along by ropes. Passing through the pathless Sette Communi, seven remarkable ancient German communes planted in the midst of Italians, he descended near Vicenza into the plains of Lombardy, to the terror and surprise of Catinat, who instantly retired and formed a junction with Villeroi. They were signally defeated at Chiari in the vicinity of Brescia. The two armies kept each other in check throughout the winter. On the 1st of February, 1702, at three A.M., Eugene forced his way into Cremona, surprised the sleeping French, and took Villeroi, who had not long before boasted that he would set some of the Austrian princes dancing on Shrove-tide, prisoner. Cremona proved untenable, and the French jestingly thanked the prince for having delivered them from so bad a general as Villeroi, whom Vendome, a man of great talent, was sent to replace by Louis XIV., at the head of a large body of reinforcements, and Eugene, whom the imperial military council ever left ill provided with money and ammunition, was compelled to retire, but, notwithstanding the manœuvres of the enemy, he contrived to maintain his footing in Lombardy, and, seizing his opportunity, succeeded in surprising and beating the superior forces of his opponents at Luzara. The want of troops disabled him from following up his advantage, and in the

ensuing year, A.D. 1703, he was called into Hungary to take the field against Ragoczy, and Italy once more fell into the hands of the French.

In the Netherlands, which had, simultaneously with Italy, been invaded by the French, the fortresses had been thrown open to them by the perfidious stadtholder, the elector of Bavaria, whose example was imitated by his brother of Cologne. They were, however, actively opposed by the English and Dutch. Marlborough's genius as a commander was still in the bud. In 1702, he contented himself with the occupation of the territory of Liege; in 1703, with that of Cologne and with keeping the enemy in check. The elector of Cologne, who, in 1702, had overrun the upper country with French troops and boasted that not a single peasant existed within twenty miles in that province, was compelled, after losing Bonn, to seek refuge in France.

On the Upper Rhine, the imperial army, with which was the emperor's son, the Roman king, Joseph, was commanded by the venerable Turkish conqueror, Louis, Margrave of Baden. The honor of taking Landau—which had been fortified on Vauban's new plan, was deemed impregnable by the French and was defended by Melac—was committed to the young prince, who acted according to the advice of his veteran marshal, and the place capitulated on the 9th of September, 1702, the very day on which Ulm was treacherously seized by the elector of Bavaria, and a dangerous diversion was created to the rear of the imperialists. In October, the French crossed the Rhine at Huningen, in order to form a junction with the electoral troops, but were beaten back at Friedlingen by the Margrave, who, in the ensuing campaign, A.D. 1703, again confined himself to the defensive and sought by his manœuvres to prevent the invasion of Germany by the French and their junction with the Bavarian troops, a division of whom, under Count Arco, attempting to advance upon Huningen, were forced by General Styrum to retreat upon Waldshut. Marshal Villars, nevertheless, succeeded, in May, in stealing through the narrow passes of

the Black Forest to Tuttlingen, where he joined the Bavarian army on its return up the Danube. Maximilian and Villars met as ancient friends, but the impatience of the German elector was ere long roused by the arrogance of the French, and, although their united forces might have enabled them to cope with the imperialists and to invade Austria, a separation was resolved upon; Villars undertook to watch the movements of the imperialists, and the elector entered the Tyrol, through which Marshal Vendôme was advancing from Italy. The junction of the French armies, at that time divided by the Alps, was of the highest importance for their mutual support and for bringing their forces to bear with redoubled strength on any given point.

In June, the elector entered the Tyrol at the head of sixteen thousand men. The fortress of Kufstein surrendered, but was burned with the whole of the garrison, the commandant, who held the keys, being absent, and no one being able to get out. Innsbruck, the capital of the Tyrol, also fell, and a squadron of Bavarians, under General Nouvion, marched thence up the Inn, while the elector mounted the Brenner with the main body. Signal-fires shone during the night on every mountain, and the brave Tyrolese, headed by Christian Koill of Kutzbuhel and the postmaster, Aufschneider, of Weydra, flew to arms. The struggle commenced in the valley of the Upper Inn. Martin Stertzinger, sheriff of Landeck, awaited Nouvion's squadron behind the broken bridge of Pontlaz, where the road mounts to the Finstermunzthal. The Bavarians vainly attempted to cross the water and to disperse the bold sharpshooters on the opposite bank, who spread death among their ranks. On a sudden, a terrific crash was heard to their rear, the mountains seemed to be falling on their heads, and enormous stones and trunks of trees, set in motion by the concealed peasantry, rolled with frightful rapidity upon their serried ranks, casting both horses and riders into the rushing stream. The peasants had also fabricated cannons, capable of bearing ten rounds, out of hollowed fir-stems. Nouvion fled with the remnant of his

forces, but found the bridge at Zams broken down and was compelled to yield. General Portia fell beneath the peasants' hatchets.—The elector had, meanwhile, marched up the Brenner along the highroad toward Italy. But he was awaited above, behind their fortifications, by fresh troops of peasantry, and, before it was possible for him to attack them, the news arrived of the insurrection to his rear. General Verrito, whom he had left at Hall, which he had strongly fortified, had been attacked by the peasants called to assist in the works and killed by the blows of their hammers (he having spread a report of his invulnerability). The whole of the Bavarian garrison had been slain, and all the other Bavarian posts to his rear razed. The treasures in the castle of Ambras, which the elector had caused to be packed ready for removal, were retaken by the peasantry. Innsbruck revolted. The loss of the Scharnitz, the most important of the mountain passes between the Tyrol and Bavaria, which was seized by an officer, named Heindl, belonging to the imperial army, with the assistance of the Bavarians, threatened the elector with the greatest danger. This pass and that of Hall in the valley of the Inn, the only paths by which he could retreat, were closed by the Tyrolese, in the hope of shutting him in and taking him and his whole army prisoners; but, after a terrible mélée at Zirl, in which Count Arco was shot close to his side by a Tyrolean sharpshooter, who mistook him, owing to the richness of his garb, for the elector, he succeeded in forcing his way to the Scharnitz. Out of sixteen thousand Bavarians, five thousand alone regained their native country. Vendôme had merely succeeded in reaching Trent, whence he was repulsed, and the whole plan of the campaign was thus frustrated by the native valor of the people. Had the circle of Swabia, Franconia, the Rhine, and Burgundy risen en masse, like their Tyrolese brethren, how speedily might not the French invader have been chased across the frontier!

Their example remained unfortunately unimitated, and Villars was allowed unopposed to lay Swabia waste. Landau

again fell into the hands of the French, and a bold advance of the Margrave of Baden upon Augsburg, with the design of aiding that city against the Bavarians, miscarried through the jealousy and ill-will of Styrum, who allowed himself to be surprised and defeated at Hochstädt. Augsburg was laid under contribution by the Bavarians. Breisach[1] was also pusillanimously yielded by the Counts Arco and Marsigli to the French.

The war was carried on with great spirit in the campaign of 1704. Prince Eugene returned from Hungary, leaving General Heister to keep Ragoczy, whom he had beaten at Tirnau, in check, and joined his forces with those of Louis of Baden. Marlborough also, deceiving Marshal Villeroi, who had, on his liberation, been sent to oppose him in the Netherlands, hastened to Heilbronn to form a junction with his allies, who now took up a concentrated position, while the French forces lay scattered in various directions. Villeroi, who had hastened in pursuit of Marlborough, joined Tallard at Strasburg, but was prevented by Eugene, who threw himself in his way, from accompanying him through the Kinzigthal across the Black Forest to the Danube for the purpose of forming a junction, in which Tallard succeeded, with Maximilian and Villars at Hochstädt. Marlborough and Louis, however, drove the Bavarians under Arco, who had again taken up an isolated position, from the Schellenberg, and Eugene's unexpected arrival before Villeroi could set off in his pursuit, placed it in their power to shut Villars, Tallard, and Maximilian up in Hochstädt. The obstinacy of the old Margrave, who refused to hazard an engagement, threatened to frustrate the plan, had not Eugene and Marlborough, well acquainted with his weak point, occupied him with the siege of Ingolstadt, while they, at the head of merely fifty-two thousand men, attacked the enemy, fifty-eight thousand strong, so unexpectedly at Hochstädt, on the 13th August,

[1] The following words were placed over the bridge-gate of Breisach:

"Limes eram Gallis, nunc pons et janua fio,
Si pergunt, Gallis *nullibi* limes erit."

1704, as almost to annihilate him. The French lost twenty thousand dead and wounded; fifteen thousand under Marshal Tallard were cut off and taken prisoners; the Bavarians alone escaping across the Danube toward the Rhine. The Swiss mercenaries under General Zurlauben displayed extreme bravery and repulsed three attacks. The General was taken prisoner after receiving seven wounds.—The news of this glorious victory spread joy throughout Germany. Marlborough received the lordship of Mindelheim in fee and was created Prince of the German empire. Eugene took possession of Bavaria. Augsburg and Ulm were liberated. The old Margrave marched to the Rhine and retook Landau and Treves, Villeroi retreating in dismay. Hagenau was so actively besieged by Thungen that the French garrison fled, panic-struck, during the night. An attack upon Breisach failed.

Unfortunately, however, instead of, after the retreat of the French depredators, conciliating the Germans and once more reuniting them in their true interests, the Bavarians were cruelly forced to atone for the guilt of their prince. Prince Eugene is, nevertheless, free from reproach. He expressly warned against every ill-treatment of the people. The emperor annexed all the country between Passau and Salzburg to his hereditary provinces, left the rest of Bavaria under the care of a regency, and enrolled all the young men in his army. The nobility and the public officers placed themselves under the Austrian rule, as the safest mode of bearing the crisis, and were consequently spared. The whole weight of the emperor's wrath fell upon the wretched peasantry, who, laden with exorbitant dues and ground to the dust with the heavy charge for the quartering of soldiery, assembled, and, in a public address to the diet at Ratisbon, declared that they were compelled by necessity to take up arms. The imperial government at Munich, on the other hand, declared that every peasant, taken with arms in his hand, should be punished "with the gallows and the sword, the banishment of his children, and the confiscation of the

whole of his property"; that the villages of the rebels should be burned down; that parents, whose children had taken up arms, should share the punishment awarded to them, etc. Of the Bavarian recruits who might join the peasantry only every fifteenth man should, "through especial clemency," be put to death.

Two students, Plinganser and Meindl, and the postmaster, Hirner, meanwhile, led the peasants to the field and were everywhere victorious. But, on the formation of a superior council under the title of "defence of the country," they were joined by numbers of the nobility, who merely betrayed and ruined their cause. It was in vain that the latter took Braunau and Schærding, formed themselves into regiments under different colors, and compelled the Austrians to enter into negotiation; the nobles interfered in the conferences, kept the peasants either in the dark or attempted to lead them astray and into disputes among themselves, and played into the emperor's hands. When the peasantry, enraged at the procrastination, attempted to seize Munich by surprise, they were betrayed by a public officer, Œttlinger, who had hypocritically set himself up as their adviser. The imperial general, Kriechbaum, was sent with all speed to Munich. The peasantry were, notwithstanding, beforehand with him. The suburb Au rose in open insurrection; Balthes, the smith, a giant, sixty-one years of age, under the cry of "Save the children" (the Bavarian princes, who, it was believed, were to be carried into Austria), forced the city gate, dashed out the brains of the Austrian sentinel with his club, and opened a way for the peasantry, who got part of the city into their hands, but Œttlinger, who managed the communication between the principal body of the peasantry, purposely either withheld or spread false news, in consequence of which the party that had forced its way into the city was left without reinforcements and was soon placed between two fires, being attacked in front by General Wendt, who made a sally from the town, while General Kriechbaum fell upon their rear. Fighting at disadvantage on foot, continually charged

by the enemy's horse, they retreated to Sendling, where the survivors, headed by a Frenchman, named Gautier, intrenched themselves in the churchyard, which they defended to the last. Fifteen hundred were slain, last of all the brave smith, A.D. 1705. The wounded were dragged back to Munich and left to freeze in their blood in the open street during the whole of the winter night, Christmas, "as a terrible example to all faithless subjects." Colonel Truchsess of the imperialists had, meanwhile, taken the town of Kelheim by surprise and put the mandate into terrible execution. The main body of the peasantry was still of imposing strength, but had separated for the purpose of opposing the various divisions of the enemy; several of the leaders, moreover, were traitors. Prielmayr, d'Oksfort, Zelli purposely misled their followers. Hoffman, being suddenly attacked by Kriechbaum, lost his presence of mind and suffered a terrible defeat at Aitenbach, where four thousand peasants fell. Oksfort deserted to the Austrians and betrayed Braunau into their hands. The remainder of the divided and betrayed peasantry, under Plinganser and Meindl, deemed themselves too weak to keep the field and dispersed.—A fearful revenge was taken. Eight hundred peasants, who capitulated in Cham, were almost all cut to pieces, and numbers of the prisoners were put to a cruel death. All the ringleaders were either hanged or quartered, and a fourfold tax was laid upon the whole country.

The aged emperor, Leopold, meanwhile, expired, A.D. 1705. His son, Joseph I., commenced his reign with the restoration of religious liberty to Hungary, which had more effect in quelling Ragoczy's insurrection than even the victories gained by General Heister. The implicit confidence reposed by the emperor upon Eugene also put a temporary stop to the disorders of the court military council, which had, up to this period, regularly left the imperial army unprovided with money, provisions, and other necessaries, winked at fraud and negligence of every description, and so carefully regulated the movements of the commanders-

in-chief that success was often frustrated, or victories were sometimes obliged to be gained against its express commands. This evil system was now put an end to. Eugene was given unlimited power. Joseph also acted with a justice, too long procrastinated, although solely at the expense of Bavaria, toward the imperial free towns. Donauworth was again declared free; Augsburg and Ulm received compensation for their losses. The electoral princes of Bavaria and Cologne were, as the dukes of Mantua and Savoy had formerly been, also solemnly put out of the ban of the empire.

Prince Eugene hastened to reconquer Italy, where Vendôme had, until now, retained the mastery and by his arrogance and violence deeply offended the duke of Savoy, who once more turned to the emperor. Vendôme, however, disarmed the whole of the Savoy troops, and Victor Amadeus, who was merely supported by a small Austrian corps under Stahrenberg, was unable to keep the field. The emperor was, nevertheless, grateful for his accession, ceded to him some of the frontier districts of Lombardy and the duchy of Mantua, and, as France had formerly done, flattered him with the royal diadem. Eugene took the field, but was met by the French with such superior forces that the first battle, near Casano, remained undecided, and the second, near Govardo, ended in his defeat, nor was it until the recall of Vendôme in 1706, and the nomination of the duke of Orleans as commander-in-chief of the French, that Eugene, pushing rapidly forward, finally joined Victor Amadeus and hastened, September 7, 1706, to prepare a surprise, similar to that of Hochstädt, for the French, who were, at that conjuncture, occupied with the siege of Turin. The heroic valor of Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, who commanded eight thousand Prussians, of General Rehbinder with the Pfalzers, and of William, duke of Gotha, decided the victory. The French lost one hundred and sixty-four cannons, and their power in Italy was so completely annihilated, A.D. 1707, that they agreed to a treaty, by which they consented to evacuate

Italy, on condition of their garrisons, left in the fortresses, being allowed free egress. Eugene instantly despatched General Daun to the conquest of Naples. The pope, Clement XI., violently protested against this step, and even provisionally excommunicated the whole of the German army; the time when the papal anathema struck terror had, however, long passed by. The Germans entered Naples, where the French and Spaniards were equally unpopular, in triumph, and the women and girls presented each of the men with a wreath of flowers and a goblet of wine. The Bohemian, Martinitz, became viceroy.[1] An attempt, made by Eugene, to penetrate into the south of France, failed, like its predecessors. He laid siege, it is true, to Toulon, but was unsuccessful; the gallant duke of Gotha fell in the trenches, A.D. 1708, and he was, through fear of being cut off, compelled to retreat.[2] Italy was, however, maintained by the emperor, and an attack made by the papal troops near Ferrara was gloriously repulsed.

While the war was thus energetically prosecuted by Eugene on the other side of the Alps, it was but lamely conducted in Germany. Louis of Baden, instead of joining Marlborough on the Moselle, procrastinated with the weakness of age, and the imperial army under his command fell a prey, owing to the ill-will and indolence of some of the Estates of the empire, to disunion and want. One prince sent his contingent too late; another, not at all. One recalled his men; another refused to allow his to advance. One left the soldiers without food or clothing; another pro-

[1] Neapolitan diplomacy had many a ridiculous feature. According to ancient usage, the kings of Naples, on their investiture, presented the pope with a white palfrey. On the present occasion, both pretenders, Charles and Philip, endeavored to obtain this favor from the pope, who, not daring to make the decision, refused to accept the palfrey from either competitor. The French, hereupon, secretly introduced a palfrey into his palace yard and pretended that he had accepted it, although it had, by his orders, been beaten out of the yard. Austria made a solemn protest, A.D. 1701. Eugene's success put an end to these follies.

[2] During the siege of Fenestrelle, he climbed a tree in order to take a sketch of the fortress. A cannon-ball carried away the bough against which he leaned, but, unmoved by the accident, he calmly finished the sketch ere he descended.

tested against the charge for billeting. Louis was, consequently, unable to maintain himself on the left bank of the Rhine, and, on crossing the river, was instantly followed by the French under Villars, who again laid the Pfalz waste and Swabia under contribution. Thungen alone recrossed the Rhine and pillaged the country to their rear. On the death of the old Margrave, in 1707, Prince Eugene exerted his interest in favor of Thungen's nomination to the chief command, but the oldest of the princes of the empire, Christian Ernest, Margrave of Anspach and Baireuth, a man of known incapacity, was chosen instead. He allowed himself to be again driven from the lines of Schollhofen, and ten thousand sacks of flour, demanded by Villars under the threat of a renewal of the former scenes of atrocity practiced by the French, to be carried through his camp into that of the enemy.

In the Netherlands, Marlborough gained another brilliant victory over the ill-fated Villeroi at Ramillies, where the French lost twenty thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, and eighty-eight cannons, A.D. 1706. The Dutch, notwithstanding, refused to take part in his projected invasion of France, the reigning burgher families deeming themselves already secure on that side and dreading the expenses of the war. Marlborough was, consequently, reduced to a state of inactivity, A.D. 1707, and occupied himself with carrying on negotiations of an important character. Charles XII. was, at that conjuncture, at Altranstädt. The prevention of a dangerous alliance between Sweden and France, and the acquisition of the aid of the powers of Northern Germany in the war against the latter country, were intrusted to Marlborough, who fulfilled his mission with his habitual success, and Charles XII. was persuaded once more to evacuate Germany. Frederick I. of Prussia was gained by Marlborough's mingling with his servants as he sat at table and offering him the napkin, and George of Hanover by being nominated generalissimo of the imperial forces in the place of Christian Ernest of Baireuth, who had laid

down the command. The new generalissimo made his appearance with a brilliant suite, gave balls and wasted enormous sums in useless festivities, complaining meanwhile that the other Estates of the empire contributed nothing toward the maintenance of the army. Matters went on in the old routine. The imperial commander, Mercy, gained a victory by surprise, during a thick fog, over the French under Villars, A.D. 1708, notwithstanding which, George remained with the main body in a complete state of inactivity.

A junction again taking place between Eugene and Marlborough, and Ouverkerk, the Dutch general, being also drawn into their interests, the war reassumed a more serious aspect. Both sides assembled their forces for a decisive engagement, which took place at Oudenarde, where, owing to the good understanding between Eugene and Marlborough, a complete victory was gained over Vendôme.[1] Both sides again assembled their forces, and, in the ensuing year, a still bloodier engagement, the most important fought during this war, took place at Malplaquet, where Eugene and Marlborough were again victorious over Villars. The Prussians, who fought "like devils" under Dessau, decided the day, which was, on the side of the French, merely disputed by the Swiss.[2] In this battle, the killed and wounded amounted to forty-five thousand. George still effected nothing on the Upper Rhine, although Mercy allowed himself to be surprised and defeated at Rumersheim. George resigned the command in the ensuing year, A.D. 1709.

France, exhausted[3] by continual reverses, now sued for peace and even evinced an inclination to abandon Spain, but the German cabinets, rendered insolent by success, impo-

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An attempt was at this time made to remove Eugene by means of a poisoned letter, sent to him either by the French or by the Jesuits.

[2] Several of the Swiss regiments lost all their officers. This battle took place on the 11th of September, the day on which, A.D. 1697, Eugene had beaten the Turks at Zeuta, and, A.D. 1701, the French at Chiari.

[3] Germany also, and particularly the Rhenish provinces. The general misery occasioned immense migrations of Protestants from the Upper Rhine to England and the English colonies. They excited little attention during the commotions of the times.

litically insisting upon the expulsion of Philip of Spain by his uncle, Louis XIV., the negotiations were broken off, and, on the sudden death of the emperor, Joseph, A.D. 1710, affairs assumed a totally different aspect.

CCXXXI. *Charles the Sixth*

CHARLES, Joseph the First's younger brother, had, A.D. 1704, been sent into Spain for the purpose of setting up his claim as the rightful heir of the house of Habsburg in opposition to that of the usurper Philip. It had been decided that Spain should, under Charles, remain separate from Austria under Joseph, the union of so many crowns on one head, as formerly on that of Charles V., being viewed with jealousy by the English, the Dutch, and the empire. Charles had, like his brother, been surrounded from his birth with the stiff ceremonial of the old Spanish court and with a gorgeous magnificence that flimsily veiled the absence of genuine grandeur. Charles, like Joseph during the Landau campaign, was accompanied in his journey to Spain by a suite of the most useless description, such as butlers, clerks of the kitchen, plate-cleaners, etc. He travelled through Holland to England, where he was conducted through rows of beautiful girls to Queen Anne's bedchamber, where she presented to him the most beautiful of her ladies-in-waiting, each of whom he honored with a salute. He was at that time unmarried, but shortly afterward Elisabeth [1] of Wolfenbuttel was sent to him as a bride. From England he went to Lisbon, Portugal supporting the house of Habsburg through dread of the united power of France and Spain. An army, composed of Dutch and English, was also assembled at Lisbon for the purpose of enforcing Charles's claims, and Prince George of Darmstadt, who had for some

[1] A Lutheran princess. Elisabeth was well received at Vienna, but, in Brunswick, the superintendent, Nitsch, said from the pulpit, "One princess have we sacrificed to Popery, a second to Paganism (a Russian prince), and, were the devil to come to-morrow, we should give him a third."

time resided in Spain, would have been its well-chosen commander, had not his nomination been opposed by English jealousy. He it was who, acquainted with the negligent manner in which Gibraltar, otherwise impregnable, was guarded, and seconded by the united fleets of England and Holland under Rook, took that fortress, but was compelled to endure the shame of beholding the British flag, instead of that of Charles, planted on the summit of the rock. A fresh troop of English auxiliaries, under Lord Peterborough, placed Charles, A.D. 1704, completely under the guardianship of England. Barcelona, where Prince George had some old connections, and whence it was hoped to raise the whole of Catalonia against Philip, was besieged from the sea; the first assault, led by George, was, however, unsupported, from a motive of jealousy, by Lord Peterborough, and the life of the gallant prince was sacrificed. The town fell, eventually, into the hands of the English, and Charles figured there as a phantom monarch; but, anxious to conceal his utter dependence upon Lord Peterborough, he had the folly ever to oppose his wisest and most necessary measures. The French, taken by surprise, were repulsed on every side, and the king, Philip, a mere puppet of state, fled from Madrid.[1] Charles refused to enter Madrid on account of the want of a state-carriage, and, by his folly, delayed the performance of a ceremony which would have made the deepest impression upon the Spaniards, and the junction of the troops concentrated at Lisbon and Barcelona. The French again took breath; Marshal Berwik was victorious at Almanza, A.D. 1707, and Charles was speedily shut up in Barcelona.

It was not until 1710 that the allies again assembled their forces, the Germans under the gallant Count von Stahrenberg, the English under Stanhope, and reopened the campaign. They gained a signal victory at Saragossa; Philip was a second time put to flight, and King Charles at length entered Madrid, where the people, jealous of his dependence

[1] The Spanish crown diamonds (an incredible number) were, on this occasion, sent to Paris, and were seized by Louis in payment for the aid granted by him.

upon the English heretics, received him with ominous silence. The pope and the Jesuits secretly worked against him. The moment when he would have been welcomed with open arms had been irretrievably neglected. France sent reinforcements and her best general, Vendome. At this critical moment, Stanhope separated from the Germans and allowed himself and the whole of his army to be made prisoners at Brihuega. Stahrenberg, for whom Vendome had prepared a similar fate, kept the enemy, greatly his superior in number, in check at Villaviciosa; Charles was, nevertheless, once more limited to Barcelona, and the death of his brother recalling him to Germany, he returned thither, A.D. 1711, and received the imperial crown at Frankfort. His consort, Elisabeth, and Stahrenberg remained for two years longer at Barcelona, but were finally compelled to abandon that town, and unhappy Catalonia fell a prey to the cruel vengeance of Philip's adherents.

Charles was the only remaining prince of the house of Habsburg, his brother, Joseph, having died without issue. He united all the crowns of Habsburg on his head, and the hope of placing that of Spain, independent of the German hereditary provinces, on the head of a younger branch of that family, was, consequently, frustrated. This circumstance entirely changed the aspect of affairs. England, who was imitated by the allies of lesser importance, deemed Germany and Spain more dangerous when united under one head than France and Spain under two, and unexpectedly declared in Philip's favor. Torrents of blood were again fruitlessly shed, and France, aided by all the other European powers, once more grasped her prey.

In England, the popular rights of the Anglo-Saxons had been forcibly suppressed by the Gallo-Norman feudal aristocracy. Since the Reformation, the popular element had, however, again risen, a reaction had taken place, and, in the middle of the seventeenth century, had produced a great revolution, which cost Charles I. his head, a deed of blood which raised enmity and engendered suspicion between his

descendants, the Stuarts, and the people. The Stuarts were expelled, and William of Orange was called to the throne. Among those who, in the parliament and in the ministry, contended for the control of the state, two parties had formed, the Tories or ancient Norman feudal aristocracy, who, although upholding their aristocratic privileges, were devoted to the monarchy, of which they made use for the suppression of popular liberty; and the Whigs, or Anglo-Saxon freemen, who, enriched by trade, proud of their martial deeds, obstinately defended their ancient rights, were ever on the watch for the legal acquisition of fresh ones, and were no less devoted to the monarchy, by means of which, in their turn, they sought to overthrow the Tories. The Tories had naturally befriended the Stuarts; William, and, after him, Anne, were, consequently, supported by the Whigs. Dependence on a popular faction was, however, in this, as it has been in all ages, a royal bugbear, and the Tories merely awaited a fitting opportunity to eject their opponents from the queen's privy council.

This opportunity presented itself on the death of the emperor Joseph. The Tories, under pretext of the dangerous ascendency of Germany and Spain when united under one head, ranged themselves on the side of France, who rewarded their neutrality with commercial advantages that flattered the material interests of the people and reduced the Whig opposition to silence. They were, moreover, seconded by a court intrigue. The Duchess of Marlborough, rendered insolent by the fame and wealth of her husband, whose noble qualities were obscured by excessive covetousness,[1] wounded the queen's vanity by refusing to give her a handsome pair of gloves, to which she had taken a fancy, and by other acts of impoliteness; she was, in consequence, dismissed, and had the barefaced impudence suddenly to draw the whole of the

[1] Marlborough possessed great financial as well as military talent. In unison with the Jew, Medina, for instance, he set up stock-jobbing or commercial transactions with government paper, which afterward became general throughout Europe; he, moreover, defrauded the public treasury by lowering the pay of his troops, etc.

enormous sums she had placed in the Bank of England, in order to produce a scarcity of gold, which, however, simply caused her husband, notwithstanding the laurels he had gained, to be prosecuted on a charge of embezzlement. His friends shared his fall; the Whigs lost office and were succeeded by a Tory government.

Prince Eugene hastened to London, but his friend Marlborough was already undergoing his trial, and, although Queen Anne gave him a polite reception and presented him with a diamond-hilted sword, he was refused a second interview, and his supplications in Marlborough's favor proved ineffectual. The people gave him an enthusiastic welcome, and such was the popular rage against the Tories, that, A.D. 1712, one of his nephews was killed in a street fight. The Earl of Ormond replaced Marlborough as commander-in-chief of the British troops in the Netherlands, but, no sooner was battle offered, than he retreated under pretext of obeying secret orders. The Dutch under Albemarle, in consequence of this faithless desertion, suffered a defeat, and Eugene found himself compelled to retire from his position at Quesnoy.[1]

The Tories, after playing this shameful part, threw off the mask and concluded a private treaty, the peace of Utrecht, A.D. 1713, with France, the stipulations of which were, the possession of Gibraltar, the key to the Mediterranean, of Minorca and St. Christopher, the demolition of the fortress of Dunkirk, ever an eyesore to the English, and free trade with all the Spanish colonies, in return for which they recognized Philip as king of Spain. The Dutch also endeavored

[1] The Grisons afforded a striking example of the mode in which French influence gained ground. Thomas Massner, a councillor of Coire, whose son had been carried off as a hostage by the French in the vicinity of Geneva, in retaliation, seized the person of the grand-prior of Vendome, who was then on his way through Switzerland, A.D. 1710. His just demand for an exchange of prisoners was disregarded, and, in 1712, he was forced by his own countrymen, through dread of France, to deliver up the grand-prior; nay, they accused him of fomenting disturbances, compelled him to flee the country, quartered him in effigy, and allowed him to die in misery, while his son was detained a prisoner in France. The family of Salis headed the French faction in the Grisons.

to make peace by a speedy accession to the articles under negotiation, but were, nevertheless, compelled to purchase it by a shameful humiliation. The coachman of the Dutch plenipotentiary, Count von Rechtern, having bestowed a box on the ear on an insolent French lackey, the ambassadors of the states-general were forced to apologize in person.

The German empire, although abandoned by England and Holland, might still have compelled France to listen to reason had not her polyarchical government put every strong and combined movement out of the question. Prince Eugene vainly depictured the power of unity and conjured the German Estates to rise en masse. He thundered at Mayence—to deaf ears. The emperor's exhortations to the imperial diet were equally futile: "His Majesty doubts not but that every true patriot will remember that not exclusively the country and the people, but, in reality, the grandeur and liberty of his fatherland, consequently, the eternal loss of his honor and rights and his unresisting submission to foreign insolence, are at stake." The imperial Estates remained unmoved and tardily contributed the miserable sum of two hundred thousand dollars toward the maintenance of the imperial army, while Villars continued to collect millions on the Rhine and in Swabia. Van der Harsch alone distinguished himself by the gallant defence of Freiburg in the Breisgau.

Eugene found himself compelled to enter into negotiation with Villars. The French, however, were so insolent in their demands that Eugene, acting on his own responsibility, quitted Rastadt, where the congress was being held, upon which the aged despot at Paris, fearing lest rage might at length rouse Germany from her torpor, yielded; Eugene returned and peace was concluded in the neighboring town of Baden, A.D. 1714. The treaty of Utrecht was recognized; Philip remained in possession of Spain, England in that of Gibraltar, etc. The emperor, Charles VI., on the other hand, retained all the Spanish possessions in Italy, Naples, Milan, Sardinia, besides the Netherlands and the fortresses

of Kehl, Freiburg, and Breisach, and the territory hitherto possessed by the French on the right bank of the Rhine, for which France was indemnified by the cession of Landau. The island of Sardinia was, in the ensuing year, given by Austria in exchange for Sicily to the duke of Savoy, who took the title of King of Sardinia. The emperor, as sovereign of the Netherlands, now concluded a treaty with Holland, according to which the fortresses on the French frontier were to be garrisoned and defended by both Austrians and Dutch. Prussia came into possession of Neufchâtel, as nearest of kin to Maria of Nemours, its former mistress, who was allied by blood to that royal house.

This peace was partially concluded by Eugene for the emperor, independent of the empire. The lesser powers, nevertheless, acceded to it, France brutally declaring her intention to carry on the war against all recusants. The elector of the Pfalz, to whom the possession of the Upper Pfalz had been already assured, was frustrated in his expectations, the traitors of Bavaria and Cologne regaining their possessions and being released from the ban.[1] Marlborough, consequently, lost Mindelheim; he was, however, restored to favor in England. Prince Eugene merely regarded the peace as a necessary evil, to which he unwillingly yielded. He clearly foresaw that, instead of bringing security to Germany, it would lead to fresh attacks and losses. "We somewhat resemble," he wrote at that period, "a fat cow, which is only made use of so long as she has a drop of superfluous milk. The word 'peace' has an agreeable sound, but only differs

[1] The order of the golden fleece was even bestowed by the emperor upon Charles Albert, the son of Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria. In the curious folio, "Fortitudo leonina Max. Emanuelis," published, at that period, by the Jesuits, the scene is allegorically represented. The imperial eagle hangs his head and looks down with lamentable condescension on the Bavarian lion, who regards him with insolent contempt. Among the engravings, with which this work abounds, there is one in which the genius of the Society of Jesus is represented with the I. H. S. on his breast, offering his humble thanks to the statue of Max. Emanuel and pointing to a large donation-plate containing twelve magnificent Jesuit houses, which the elector had built for them at the expense of the people. The elector himself, attired in the imperial robes of Rome, sits on horseback with an enormous allonge peruke on his head. His countenance is that of a satyr.

from 'war' as the present does from the future. He whose vocation it is, after war, to collect the chips, alone sees the heaps of wood that have been fruitlessly cut. The best peace with France is a mute war. France will seize the first opportunity to rend a fresh piece from the empire. When the Netherlands shall have been reduced to submission, the Rhine will be made the frontier and the foundation of a fresh peace. The abbess of Buchau wished me joy of the blessed peace. I am, on all sides, persecuted with congratulations of this sort. Amid all my misfortunes it is often difficult to refrain from laughter."

In the following year, A.D. 1715, Louis XIV., the vain, licentious despot, whose tyranny over Germany covered her with far deeper shame than her submission to the genius of Napoleon, expired. Anne, queen of England, also died, without issue, and was succeeded by the next heir, George, elector of Hanover, whose mother was the daughter of Frederick, king of Bohemia, and of Elisabeth, the daughter of James I. of England. George favored the Whigs. Peace had, however, been unalterably concluded with France.

Tranquillity had scarcely been restored to the empire than she was again attacked by the Turks, and Prince Eugene once more took the field. Supported by Stahrenberg and Charles Alexander of Wurtemberg,[1] he defeated them, A.D. 1716, in a bloody engagement near Peterwardein, where the

[1] This prince turned Catholic when in the emperor's service. On one occasion, when at Venice, the haughty nobles boasting, in his hearing, of their superior state of civilization, and ridiculing the Germans as barbarians, he invited them to a banquet on the evening fixed by him for his departure, and gave them the following theatrical entertainment. It was night time; a single lamp glimmered in the street, where Cicero's ghost was seen wandering up and down. A German traveller entered, and, finding all the doors closed, drew out his watch to see the hour, then a printed book, with which he amused himself for some time, and at length, in his impatience, fired off a pistol in order to wake the sleeping Italians. Cicero's ghost now advanced, demanded an explanation of the watch, the printed book, and the gunpowder, expressed his astonishment on finding that these great inventions had been discovered by the barbarians of the North, and inquisitively demanded "what things of still greater importance the Italians had invented, if barbarians had distinguished themselves so highly?" Upon which a Savoyard appeared, crying, "Heckles! Heckles!" for sale. The curtain dropped; the prince was already gone.

grand vizier fell, and a second time at Belgrade, when they sued for peace, which was concluded at Passarowitz, A.D. 1718. The emperor was confirmed in the possession of Belgrade, a part of Servia and Wallachia. The establishment of the Granitzers or military colonies on the Turkish frontier was a fresh proof of Eugene's genius.

Venice still retained her enmity toward the emperor, by whom she had been unaided in her war with the Turks, during which she had lost the Morea. In retaliation, she entered into a fresh intrigue against him with Alberoni, the Spanish minister. The reannexation of Italy to Spain was again attempted. A Spanish army occupied Sicily, A.D. 1718. The impatience with which Spain had, since the death of Louis XIV., borne the tutelage of France, had, however, inclined the prince regent, Philip of Orleans, in favor of a quadruple alliance with the emperor, England, and Holland, by which Spain was compelled to withdraw her troops from Sicily and Alberoni to resign. The Venetians were, at that conjuncture, commanded by Count von Schulenburg, the same who had so repeatedly been defeated by Charles XII. in Poland. The same ill-success attended him in his Venetian command, during which he merely distinguished himself by raising the excellent fortifications of Corfu, and those on the Dalmatian coast, destined, on the loss of the Morea, to protect Venice against Turkish aggression.

Charles VI. was the last of the male line of the house of Habsburg. His only son died during infancy, and his whole care was to secure the inheritance of all his crowns to his daughter, Maria Theresa, whose hand he had bestowed upon Francis, the youthful duke of Lorraine, an object he hoped to attain by means of the Pragmatic Sanction, a guarantee purchased from all the great European powers. Blinded by paternal affection, he imagined that the sovereigns of Europe would consider a treaty binding, an example of naiveté remarkable in the midst of the faithlessness of the age. His efforts proved vain. After carrying on a long and futile negotiation, he discovered that England, France, and Spain

(afterward Saxon-Poland also) had confederated, A.D. 1729, at Seville against the Pragmatic Sanction. Frederick William I., who succeeded Frederick I. on the throne of Prussia, actuated by a feeling of German nationality and by his private antipathy to George, king of England, alone remained true to the emperor and fulfilled the treaty concluded with him in 1726, at Wusterhausen; the accession of the other powers to the Sanction was purchased at an enormous sacrifice. France was promised Lorraine; Spain was bribed with Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia; England and Holland were gained by the abolition of the commercial society of Ostend, which dealt a fatal blow to Dutch trade, A.D. 1731. The grand pensionary of Holland, Slingelandt, Heinsius's powerful successor, displayed great activity in the conduct of this affair. Augustus of Saxon-Poland was gained over by the assurance of the succession of the crown of Poland to his son, Augustus III. On the death of Augustus II., A.D. 1733, the Poles proceeded to a fresh election; Stanislaus Lescinsky again set himself up as a candidate for the crown, and, although the Polish nobility evinced little inclination to favor the youthful Augustus, the emperor, true to his plighted word, exerted his utmost influence in his behalf.

The empress Anne, the widow of the duke of Courland, the last but one of the house of Kettler, and niece to Peter the Great, had governed Russia since 1730. That empire had long harbored the most inimical projects against Poland, and, as early as 1710, had proposed the partition of that kingdom to the emperor and to Prussia. Anne, on the present occasion, despatched her favorite, Marshal Munnich, at the head of forty thousand men, to Poland, for the purpose of securing the election of Augustus, that tool of Russian diplomacy. Her deep interest in this affair and her contempt of Saxony are clearly proved by the fact of her having expelled Maurice the Strong, marshal of Saxony, who had been elected duke of Courland,[1] and bestowing the

[1] Ferdinand, the last of the Kettler family, died A.D. 1725. Anna, the widow of his predecessor, Frederick William, became enamored of Maurice, for

ducal mantle on her paramour, Biron, or, more properly, Buren, the grandson of a hostler. Stanislaus fled to Dantzig, where he was protected by the faithful citizens, but the city being bombarded by Munnich, he escaped across the flooded country in a boat, in order to save the city from utter destruction, and Munnich's departure was purchased with two million florins by the citizens. Stanislaus found a hospitable reception at the court of Frederick William I., who was beyond the sphere of Russian influence.

France, Spain, and Sardinia (Savoy) now unexpectedly declared war against Charles VI. on account of his interference in favor of Augustus. War was not declared against Augustus himself but against Russia. It was simply an open pretext for again plundering the empire. England and Holland remained neutral. The Russians sent thirty thousand men to the aid of the emperor, who actually reached the Rhine, but too late, peace having been already concluded. The loss of the French marshal, Berwik, in the commencement of the campaign, before Philippsburg, greatly facilitated Eugene's endeavors (he was now worn out and past service) to maintain himself on the Rhine. In Italy, Villars, now a veteran of eighty, gained, but with immensely superior forces, a battle near Parma, in which Mercy, the imperialist general, fell. His successor, Kœnigsegg, had the good fortune to surprise the enemy on the Secchia near Quistello, and to capture the whole of his camp together with five hundred and seventy guns. He was, however, unsuccessful in a subsequent engagement at Guastalla, owing to the want of reinforcements and money. Don Carlos of

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whose election she at first exerted her utmost influence. It so happened, however, that Maurice had, at that time, a liaison with Adrienne le Couvreux, the beautiful Parisian actress, who had given him the whole of her jewels and fortune in order to furnish him with the means of forwarding his interest in Courland; he, moreover, seduced one of Anna's ladies-in-waiting, which so greatly enraged her that her love changed to hate, and Maurice was compelled to flee from Courland. He went to Paris, where his faithful and beautiful Adrienne, the darling of the Parisians, was poisoned by a duchess, who had also become enamored of her handsome lover. See Espagnac's Life of Maurice and Forster's Augustus II.

Spain also went, A.D. 1734, to Sicily, and took possession of the whole of the kingdom of Naples.

These circumstances were, as if by miracle, not turned to advantage by France, which would probably have been the case had not Louis XV. preferred mistresses and barbers to military achievements. A truce was concluded, and the former stipulations made by the emperor were accepted. Don Carlos retained possession of Naples; Tuscany and Parma fell to Lorraine, which was bestowed upon Stanislaus Lescinsky, A.D. 1736, on whose death it was to revert to France. Stanislaus was named the benefactor of Lorraine; he was a kind-hearted and generous man, who smoked his pipe and was the sincere well-wisher of the people amid whom fate had cast him on his expulsion from the throne of Poland. He died in 1766, and Lorraine became henceforward French. The Lothringians had long and gloriously defended themselves under their ancient dukes against the French. They had been shamefully abandoned by the empire, and, without any blame attaching to them, been made the victims of family policy. They deserved a better fate than that of sinking into the insignificance inseparable from a state half French, half German.

The Genoese had remained true to the emperor, by whom they were supported against the Corsicans, who refused to submit to the republic of Genoa, with a German force under Prince Louis of Wurtemberg,[1] who, more by gentle measures than by violence, restored tranquillity to Corsica, A.D. 1732. On his departure, the contest was renewed by a German adventurer, Theodore von Neuhof, a Westphalian nobleman, who had been educated by the Jesuits at Munster, whence he had fled on account of a duel to Holland, and, after entering the Spanish service, had visited Africa, been taken prisoner, and had become agent to the dey of Algiers, by whom he was despatched at the head of a body of troops to the island of Corsica, for the purpose of liberating the

[1] Brother to Max. Emanuel, who was taken prisoner at Pultowa, the son of Frederick Charles, Eberhard Louis's uncle and guardian.

inhabitants from the Genoese yoke. He rendered himself extremely popular and became king of Corsica, A.D. 1736. But, while travelling in Europe for the purpose of seeking for a recognition of his authority and for aid, the French landed in Corsica and forced the islanders once more to recognize the supremacy of Genoa. Theodore took refuge in England, where he died a prisoner for debt.[1]

Prince Eugene had, meanwhile, continued to guard the frontiers of the empire. A thorough German,[2] ever bent upon the promotion of the glory and welfare of Germany, he beheld her downward course with heartfelt sorrow, of which his letters give abundant and often touching proof. He was misunderstood by all except his soldiery, who, in those wretched times, were by him inspired with an enthusiasm, and who fought with a spirit worthy of a better age. But the fine army, disciplined by him, was shamefully neglected on the death of its commander. Favorites, men of undoubted incapacity, were appointed to the highest military posts, the number of which was immensely multiplied. There were no fewer than nineteen imperial field-marshals and a still greater number of field-lieutenant-marshals, masters of the ordnance, etc., all of whom were in the receipt of large salaries, were utterly devoid of military knowledge, and refused to recognize each other's authority. The war establishment was reckoned from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty thousand men, but forty thousand alone had been levied and those were allowed to starve. The whole of the pay flowed into the pockets of the superior officers. The military court-council and the field-marshals played into each other's hands, and the officers, from the highest to the lowest, emulated each other in dishonesty and fraud. The emperor, notwithstanding these abuses, deemed it possible, with an army of this description, to make great

[1] On the accession of Jerome, Napoleon's brother, to the throne of Westphalia, it was said, "It is but just that a Corsican nobleman should become king of Westphalia, a Westphalian nobleman having been king of Corsica."

[2] The counts of Savoy boasted of their descent from the ancient Saxon line of Wittekind.

conquests in Turkey capable of repaying his losses in the West. Count Seckendorf, a Protestant (the prototype of the chattering oracles and busy speculators, who were, at a later period, looked up to as prodigies in Catholic countries, merely on account of their being Protestants), was placed at the head of the army, which was also accompanied by Francis of Lorraine as voluntary field-marshal. The Turks, ever accustomed to make the attack, were taken by surprise. Seckendorf, A.D. 1737, took the important fortress of Nissa; but his further operations were so clumsily conducted, and the army was in such a state of demoralization, that all speedily went wrong. Money and provisions became scarce, then failed altogether; the soldiery murmured; the jealous Catholic generals refused obedience to the Protestant generalissimo. General Doxat yielded Nissa without a blow on the approach of the Turks; an offence for which he afterward lost his head. Seckendorf, accused by his enemies, was recalled and thrown into prison, and the emperor, like Ferdinand II. in Wallenstein's case, denied the commands, imposed by himself on his general, and threw the whole blame upon him alone. Seckendorf remained a prisoner until the emperor's death.

The campaign of 1738 was opened by Kœnigsegg, who, unexpectedly penetrating into the country, was successful at Kornia, but was left without reinforcements and speedily recalled. He was replaced by Wallis, who blindly obeyed the senseless orders of the military court-council, and, taking up a most unfavorable position, placed himself in the power of the Turks, who, commanded by French officers, among others by Bonneval, who had been raised to the dignity of pacha, crushed him by their superior numbers at Kruska. He lost twenty thousand men, and retreated in dismay, leaving Belgrade, whither he could have retired in perfect safety, behind him. General Schmettau hurried to Vienna and offered to defend Belgrade, but exhorted to speedy measures. The emperor, however, trusted neither him nor Kœnigsegg; in fact, no one who discovered energy or a love of honor.

Schmettau was commissioned to bear to General Succow, an officer utterly incompetent to fill the office, his confirmation in the command of Belgrade. Wallis received full power to negotiate terms, and instantly offered to yield Belgrade; a step to which necessity alone could have induced the emperor to accede. Immediately after this the emperor sent a second ambassador, Neipperg, who, ignorant of the negotiations entered into by Wallis, refused to sacrifice Belgrade, and was, consequently, treated with every mark of indignity by the Turks, who spat in his face, supposing him to be a spy. Bound in chains, in momentary expectation of death, Neipperg also lost his presence of mind, offered to yield Belgrade, and, through the mediation of the French ambassador, the Marquis de Villeneuve, to whom Russia had also given carte blanche on this occasion, concluded the scandalous peace of Belgrade, by which Belgrade, Servia, and Wallachia were once more delivered up to Turkey. Succow, notwithstanding Schmettau's remonstrances, yielded Belgrade, A.D. 1739, before the ratification of the treaty at Vienna. Wallis and Neipperg suffered a short imprisonment, but were, on account of their connection with the aristocracy, at that period omnipotent, shortly restored to favor and reinstated in their offices. Schmettau entered the Prussian service.

The house of Habsburg became extinct in 1749. Charles conduced, even in a greater degree than his father, to stamp the Austrians, more especially the Viennese, with the character by which they are, even at the present day, distinguished. The Austrians were formerly noted for their chivalric spirit and still more so for their constitutional liberty. During the unhappy struggle for liberty of conscience their character became deeply tragical and parallel in dignity to that of any other nation ennobled by misfortune, but, during the reign of Charles VI., it took a thoughtlessly good-humored, frivolous, almost burlesque tone. The memory of their ancestors' rights had faded away, the horrid butchery was forgotten; the education of the Jesuits had, in the third generation, eradicated every serious thought, had habituated

the people to blind obedience, while they amused them, like children, with spiritual comedies, to which the great comedy, acted by the court, was a fitting accompaniment. The person of the monarch was, it is true, strictly guarded by Spanish etiquette, but his innumerable crowd of attendants, fattening in idleness and luxury, ere long infected the whole nation with their license and love of gayety. The court of Vienna was entirely on a Spanish footing; the palace, the pleasure grounds, the Prater, an imitation of the Prado at Madrid, the ceremonies, even the dress, notwithstanding the ill accordance between the great Spanish hat and drooping feathers and the short mantle with the allonge peruke lately introduced by the French. The emperor was beheld with distant awe as a being superior to the rest of mankind; he was, even in privacy, surrounded by pomp and circumstance; his name could not be uttered without a genuflection. He was surrounded by a court consisting of no fewer than forty thousand individuals, all of whom aided in the consumption of the public revenue. The six offices filled by the lord chief steward, the lord chief chamberlain, the lord chief marshal, the lord chief equerry, the lord chief master of the chase, and the lord chief master of the falcons, each of whom superintended an immensely numerous royal household, took precedence. There were, for instance, two hundred and twenty-six chamberlains. Then followed twelve offices of state, the privy council (the highest government office), the military council, the imperial council, three councils of finance (the court of conference, the exchequer, and board of revenues), a chief court of justice (into which the provincial government of Lower Austria had been converted), and five especial governments for Spain, the Netherlands, Hungary, Transylvania, and Bohemia, all of which resided at Vienna. There were, besides these, the embassies, a prodigious number, every count, prelate, baron, and city of the empire having, at that period, an agent at Vienna. The whole of the year was unalterably prearranged, every court fete predetermined. Then came a succession of church fes-

tivals, with solemn processions, festivals of the knights of the Golden Fleece, and those of the ladies of the order of the Cross, instituted, A.D. 1688, by Eleonora, the consort of Ferdinand III., etc.; tasteless family fetes, with fireworks, senseless allegories, and speeches in an unheard-of bombastical style, imitated from the half-oriental one of Spain. The machinery of this world of wonder was managed by the prime minister, Count Sinzendorf, an execrable statesman but—an admirable cook. Half Vienna was fed from the imperial kitchens and cellars. Two casks of Tokay were daily reckoned for softening the bread for the empress's parrots; twelve quarts of the best wine for the empress's night-draught, and twelve buckets of wine for her daily bath.

The people were reduced to the lowest grade of servility. The Lower Austrian Estates, on the occasion of taking the oath of allegiance, thus addressed Charles VI.: "The light of heaven is obscured by your Majesty's inimitable splendor. The universe is not spacious enough to be the scene of such events, when your most faithful and obedient Estates reach the height of happiness by casting themselves at the feet of your Majesty. The ancient Golden Age is iron in comparison with the present one illumined by the sun of our prosperity. Your faithful and submissive Estates would, on this account, have erected a splendid temple, like that of Augustus, consecrated to returning peace and prosperity, could anything have been anywhere discovered that was not already possessed by your imperial Majesty." Conlin, in the notes to his Poetical Biography of Charles VI., gives an account of the reception of the empress at Linz, which is equally entertaining. In Vienna, the numerous sinecures enabled adventurers, the upper and lower lackeys, to live a riotous life, which affected the morals of the people. Eating and drinking became an affair of the utmost importance; adultery and immorality among the nobility a mark of bon-ton; the search after amusement the citizen's sole occupation. The Spanish austerity of the court had, notwithstanding,

prevented immorality, under the name of philosophy, from supplanting religion, as had been the case in France. Frivolity was confined to the limits of a jest reconcilable with the established piety or rather bigotry, and thus came into vogue, Stranitzki, in the Leopoldstadt theatre, by means of this tone exciting the inextinguishable laughter of the populace, and Father Abraham making use of it in his sermons at Santa Clara.

Vienna, on the reconciliation between the emperor and the pope, was erected into a bishopric, A.D. 1772. The emperor, like his predecessors, was a slave to the priests and expended as much upon church festivals as upon court fetes. The most extraordinary splendor was displayed in 1729, on the canonization of St. John von Nepomuk by the pope. The festival, which lasted eight days, was participated in by the whole of the Austrian monarchy, nay, by the whole of Catholic Christendom. Vienna was the scene of unusual pomp; the interior of St. Stephen's was hung with purple; the courtiers and citizens vied with each other in splendor. Almost the whole population of Bohemia poured into Prague; more than four hundred processions of townships bearing offerings, as to a pagan sacrifice; Altbunzlau with garnets and rubies, Kœnigsgratz with pheasants, Chrudim with crystals, Czaslau with silver, Kaurziem with evergreen plants, Bechin with salmon, Prachin with pearls and gold sand, Pilsen with a white lamb, Saaz with ears of corn, Leitmeritz with wine, Rakonitz with salt, etc. The whole of the city and its innumerable towers were splendidly illuminated. An immense procession marched to Nepomuk, the saint's birthplace, with numbers of figures and pictures of the Virgin and saints, banners and dramatic representations, taken from the life of the saint.'—At that pious period lived the Tyrolean Capuchin, Father Gabriel Pontifeser, who enjoyed great repute as confessor to Maria Anna, queen of Spain, consort to Charles II., the last of the Habsburg dynasty,

[1] See Schottky, The Carlovingian Age.

but who refused every post of honor and contented himself with erecting a Capuchin monastery in his native town, Clausen, with Spanish gold. The queen adorned it with valuable pictures, etc., part of which were, A.D. 1809, carried to Munich. At that time also died at Cappel in the Pazuaunthal the pious pastor, Adam Schmid, who was so beloved by the people that numerous tapers are still kept burning around his tomb as around that of a saint.[1]

CCXXXII. *The Courts of Germany*

AUGUSTUS of Saxony expired A.D. 1733, leaving three hundred and fifty-two children, among whom Maurice, known as the marshal of Saxony, the son of the beautiful Aurora, countess of Kœnigsmark,[2] equalled him in extraordinary physical strength and surpassed him in intellect, but, as a French general, turned the talents which, under other circumstances, he might have devoted to the service of his country, against Germany. Flemming, the powerful minister, also died, leaving sixteen million dollars, of which he had robbed the country, and half of which his widow was compelled to relinquish. The most notorious of the king's mistresses, Countess Cosel, had drawn from him twenty million dollars. Saxony had fallen a prey to the most depraved of both sexes. The whole of these shameful acts are recounted in the "Gallant Saxon" of Baron von Pollnitz and in the Memoirs of the Margravine of Baireuth. The descriptions of the fetes given at Morizburg to the Countess Aurora von Kœnigsmark or in honor of foreign princes, his guests, graphically depicture the luxury of this royal debauche. Mythological representations were performed on an immense scale, festivals of Venus in the pleasure-gardens, festivals of Diana in the forests, festivals of Neptune on the

[1] Beda, Weber's Tyrol.

[2] She was cold, intriguing, and busied herself, as her Memoirs show, with money matters. She became provostess of Quedlinburg, "for which," as Uffenbach writes in his Travels, "her fine, large, majestic figure, but not her well-known character, well suited."

Elbe, on which occasions a Venetian Bucentaur, frigates, brigantines, gondolas, and sailors dressed in satin and silk stockings, were paraded; festivals of Saturn in the Saxon mines; besides tournaments, peasants' fetes, fairs, masquerades, and fancy balls, in which the army as well as the whole court sustained a part. He kept Janissaries, Moors, Heiducks,[1] Swiss, a name now signifying bodyguardsmen or porters, and put the common soldiers and court menials during the celebration of fetes into such varied disguises, as, in a certain degree, to transform the whole country into a theatre. In Wackerbarth's biography there is a description of a firework for which eighteen thousand trunks of trees were used, and of a gigantic allegorical picture which was painted upon six thousand ells of cloth. One party of pleasure at Muhlberg cost six million dollars. Architecture was rendered subservient to these follies. The Japan palace alone contained genuine Chinese porcelain to the amount of a million dollars, besides sumptuous carpets composed of feathers. At Dresden, a hall is still shown completely furnished with the ostrich and heron plumes used at these fetes. Luxury and a tasteless love of splendor were alone fostered by this unheard-of extravagance, and it was merely owing to a happy chance that the purchase of the Italian antiques and pictures, which laid the foundation to the magnificent Dresden Gallery, flattered the pride of King Augustus. His private treasury, the celebrated green vaults, were, like his fetes, utterly devoid of taste. There were to be seen immense heaps of precious stones, gold and silver, a room full of pearls, columns of ostriches' eggs, curious works of art, clocks, and all manner of toys, each of which cost enormous sums. One of these costly pieces, clever enough, represents a harlequin cudgelling a peasant, each of the figures being formed out of a single pearl of immense size. This was, in point of fact, the only relation between the prince and the people. The cries of the people were unheard; of the pro-

[1] Attendants in the Hungarian costume.—*Trans.*

vincial Estates a servile committee alone acted; and Augustus, in the plenitude of his condescension, in return for the enormous contributions granted by his Estates, yielded, after a parley of twenty-nine years, to the desire of his people, and published new reformed regulations for the diet, intended to stop the mouths of all malcontents, which, with open mockery, he reserved to himself the power, "in his paternal love for his people, of altering and improving."

Augustus III., his son and successor on the throne of Saxony, although personally more temperate, allowed his favorite, Bruhl, on whom he bestowed the dignity of Count, to continue the old system of dissipation. Bruhl, who had an annual salary of fifty thousand dollars, without reckoning the immense landed property bestowed upon him, erected his palace in the vicinity of the royal residence, and, like a major-domo or grand vizier, surpassed his royal master in luxury of every description. He held a numerous court, and, as he ever placed his servants in the highest and most lucrative offices, the nobility contested for the honor of sending their sons, as pages, into his service. His wardrobe was the most magnificent in the empire; he had always a hundred pair of shoes, and other articles of dress in hundreds by him, all of which were made in Paris. He had a cabinet filled with Parisian perukes. Even the pastry on his table was sent from Paris. In order to raise the sums required for his maintenance, he seized all deposits, even the money belonging to wards, and, under the title of "contributions," made great loans from wealthy individuals, particularly at Leipzig, for which he gave bankbills, which speedily fell so much in value as to be refused acceptance. He also established a general property tax and continually alienated crown property. He was, moreover, professionally a traitor to his country and sold his master to the highest bidder. At that period, the petty collateral Saxon line of Merseburg, founded, A.D. 1653, by Christian, a son of John George, became extinct. The last duke was such a fiddle-fancier that he was always accompanied by a carriage filled with those instruments, and

so imbecile, that his wanton consort, on the birth of an illegitimate child, pacified him by declaring that the infant had brought with it into the world a gigantic bass-viol, which she had ordered to be made for him.

The Saxon dukes of the Ernestine line were divided into several houses. Ernest, duke of Weimar, A.D. 1736, forbade his subjects "to reason under pain of correction." Frederick, duke of Gotha, gave the first example of the shameful traffic in men, afterward so often imitated, by selling, A.D. 1733, four thousand impressed recruits to the emperor for one hundred and twenty thousand florins, and, in 1744, three regiments to the Dutch. He occupied Meiningen with his troops and supported the nobles in their rebellion against his cousin, Antony Ulric, who had persuaded the emperor to bestow upon his consort, Elisabeth Cæsar,[1] a handsome chambermaid, the rank of princess, and to declare his children capable of succeeding to his titles. The nobility triumphed, and the children were, by a shameful decree of the Estates of the empire, declared incapable of succeeding to their father's possessions; the hopes of Gotha were, nevertheless, frustrated, Antony Ulric instantly contracting a second marriage with a princess of Hesse, who brought him a numerous family.

In Bavaria, Maximilian Emanuel II. reigned until 1726. He was the author of great calamities. It was entirely owing to his disloyalty, to the treacherous diversion raised by him to the rear of the imperial army, that France was not completely beaten in the commencement of the war of succession. Nor was his close alliance with France merely transient, for, in the ensuing century, his became the ruling policy of almost every court in Western Germany. The elector, perverted by Villars and others of the French courtiers, solely made use of the French tongue, and, surrounded

[1] Frederick William, the reigning duke, Antony Ulric's elder brother, disapproved of this marriage, and, on the death of Elisabeth, who, happily for herself, died early, allowed her coffin to remain unburied, merely sprinkled over with sand. On his death, he was treated with similar indignity by his brother, who left both coffins standing side by side in this condition during a year.

by female singers and dancing-girls, imitated every Parisian vice. His consort, Theresa Cunigunda, the daughter of Sobieski, the noble sovereign of Poland, filled with disgust at the licentious manners of the court, became, under the guidance of the Jesuit, Schmacke, a strict devotee. The elector, in order to escape the reproaches of his Bavarian subjects, chiefly resided, in his quality of stadtholder of the Netherlands, at Brussels, where, in one continued maze of pleasure, he lavished on his mistresses and expended in horses, of which he kept twelve hundred, and in pictures, which he had a good opportunity to collect in the Netherlands, such enormous sums, as to render the imposition of triple taxes necessary in Bavaria. The provincial diet had not been consulted since 1699. His son, Charles Albert, who reigned until 1746, was equally the slave of luxury. He was passionately fond of hunting, and kept, besides his mistresses, an immense number of dogs. Keyssler, who, in the course of his interesting travels, visited Bavaria in 1729, gives the following account: "The electoress, Maria Amelia, a little and delicate lady, shoots well at a mark, and often wades up to her knees in a bog while following the chase. Her shooting-dress is a green coat and trousers and a little white peruke. She has a great fancy for dogs, which is plainly evident at Nymphenburg by the bad smell of the red damask carpets and beds. The little English greyhounds are valued most highly. The electoress, when at table, is surrounded by a good number of them, and one sits on either side of her, seizing everything within their reach. Near her bed a dog has a little tent with a cushion, and on one side hangs a bust of Christ with the crown of thorns.—There is a couch for a dog close to the elector's bed, and there are couches for twelve more in the fine writing-room adjoining." The electoress becoming jealous of her husband's mistresses, a terrible quarrel ensued, in which he physically ill-treated her. Sophia von Ingenheim was his favorite. He established the lotteries, so destructive to the morals of the people, in Bavaria.

The other Wittelsbach branch in the Pfalz pursued a similar career. The elector, Philip William, who succeeded to the government, A.D. 1685, died in 1690. His son, John William, fled, on account of the disturbances during the war, from the Upper Rhine to Dusseldorf, the capital of Juliers, where he followed in the steps of his cousin Maximilian at Brussels, kept a harem and made a valuable collection of pictures. On his death, in 1716, his brother, Charles Philip, assisted by the Jesuit, Usleber, inflicted the most terrible cruelties on the Pfalz and renewed, A.D. 1742, the violent religious persecution, while indulging in passions that disgraced his years, until death relieved the afflicted country from this monster, and Charles Theodore, of the line of Sulzbach, a sensualist of a milder nature, succeeded to the government. Gustavus Samuel, duke of Pfalz-Zweibrucken, had, A.D. 1696, during a visit to Rome, turned Catholic, in order to obtain a divorce from his wife and permission to wed a daughter of one of his servants, named Hoffman.

Hesse gained the county of Hanau in 1736. The last count, John Reinhard, died; his daughter, Charlotte, married Prince Louis of Darmstadt; the county was, nevertheless, divided between Darmstadt and Cassel. During the life of William, Landgrave of Cassel, his son, the hereditary prince, Frederick, secretly turned Catholic. His father, however, frustrated the plans of the Jesuits by convoking the provincial Estates, demanding a guarantee from the Protestant princes, binding the hereditary prince by a will whereby the Catholics were deprived of all their hopes, and separating the prince from his sons, who were brought up in the Protestant faith.

License was carried to the greatest excess in Baden-Durlach, where the Margrave, Charles William, built Carlsruhe in the midst of the forests, A.D. 1715, and, in imitation of the celebrated French deer-parks, kept a hundred and sixty garden nymphs, who bore him a countless number of children. The scandal caused by this conduct induced him, in 1722, to dismiss all except sixty or seventy of the most beau-

tiful. He kept his favorites shut up in the celebrated leaden tower, which still forms the handle to the great double fan, formed half by the streets of Carlsruhe, half by the alleys stretching through the forest contiguous to the palace. During his promenades and journeys he was accompanied by girls disguised as Heiducks.

In Wurtemberg, the duke, Everard, left, A.D. 1674, a son, William Louis, who dying, A.D. 1677, his brother, Frederick Charles, undertook the guardianship of his son, Everard Louis, then in his first year.[1] This regent discovered extreme imbecility, and, after the shameful seizure of the city of Strasburg by Louis XIV., visited Paris for the purpose of paying his respects to that monarch, notwithstanding, or rather on account of which, the French king allowed Melac to plunder the territory of Wurtemberg. What was there to be apprehended from a coward? Everard Louis, who attained his majority in 1693, instead of healing the wounds of his country, extended his household, gave magnificent fetes, grandes battues, and, A.D. 1702, founded the order of St. Hubert, the patron of the chase, etc. What reason had he for constraint, when the Tubingen theologians carried on a violent dispute with the Dillinger Jesuits, whether the Catholic or the Lutheran faith was more advantageous for princes, and the Tubingen chancellor, Pfaff, gained the victory by clearly demonstrating that no faith allowed more latitude to princes than the Lutheran. In the absence of native nobility, who had, under Ulric, duke of Wurtemberg, abandoned the country, foreign nobles were attracted to the court for the purpose of heightening its splendor. It was in this manner that a Mademoiselle von Grævenitz, accompanied by her brother, came from Mecklenburg to Stuttgard, and, ere long, became the declared mistress of the duke. Nay, a clergyman was even found, although the duke was already married, to

[1] Everard's brother's son, Sylvius Nimrod, married a daughter of the last duke of Münsterberg, A.D. 1647, of the house of Podiebrad, in whose right he laid claim to the Silesian duchy of Œls, which the dukes of Münsterberg had received, A.D. 1495, from Wladislaw, king of Bohemia, in exchange for the demesne of Podiebrad in Bohemia.

perform the marriage ceremony. This open bigamy scandalized both the emperor and the empire. The departure of Grævenitz was insisted upon, but was refused by the duke until the provincial Estates had, by way of compensation, voted a sum of two hundred thousand florins. But, scarcely had the duke received the money than Grævenitz returned, apparently married to a Count Wurben, a Viennese, who had lent himself for a consideration to this purpose, and who, after being created grand provincial governor of Wurtemberg, was sent out of the country. His wife, the grand provincial governess, remained for twenty years in undisputed possession of the duke, and governed the country in his name. Her brother figured as prime minister, and, as she furnished the court of Vienna with money and the king of Prussia from time to time with giants for his guard, she was protected by foreign powers. She was named, and with truth, the destroyer of the country, for she sold offices and justice, commuted all punishments by fine, extorted money by threats, bestowed the most important commercial monopolies on Jews,[1] mortgaged and sold the crown lands, etc. She managed the duke's treasury and—her own. His was ever empty, hers ever full; she lent money to the duke, who repaid her in land. By means of spies, the violation of private correspondence, and a strict police, she suppressed the murmurs of the people. Osiander, the churchman, alone had the courage to reply, on her demanding to be included in the prayers of the church, "Madame, we pray daily, 'O Lord, preserve us from evil.' " It was forbidden under pain of punishment to speak ill of her. The provincial Estates attempting to defend themselves from the enormous exactions, the duke threatened the "individuals," in case the

[1] On one occasion she seized a quantity of English goods for her wardrobe, and the duke wore some of the stolen gold brocade in public. On another occasion, a person offering her five thousand florins for an apothecary's license, she took the money, gave a receipt, but did not send the patent. The person called in order to freshen her memory. The countess could not recall the circumstance, demanded the receipt in proof, took it away and did not reappear. The person in question received neither the money nor the patent.

assembly any longer opposed his demands. During the famine of 1713, the peasants were compelled to plant great part of their land with tobacco. On the increasing discontent of the people and of the Estates, which showed itself more particularly at Stuttgard, the duke quitted that city and erected a new residence, Ludwigsburg, A.D. 1716, at an immense expense. On laying the foundation-stone, he caused such a quantity of bread to be thrown to the assembled multitude that several people narrowly escaped being crushed to death. The general want increased, and, in 1717, the first great migration of the people of Wurtemberg to North America took place. The countess at length demanded as her right as possessor of the lordship of Welzheim a seat and a vote on the Franconian bench of counts of the empire, which being granted in her stead to her brother, a quarrel ensued, and he took part with her enemies against her. She also ventured to treat the duke with extreme insolence. Her beauty had long passed away with her youth, and, on the presentation of the beautiful Countess Wittgenstein, her empire completely ended. She was imprisoned and deprived of her immense demesnes. On the death of the duke, she lost still more of her ill-gotten wealth, and the court Jew, Süss, her agent, also privately robbed her.

Everard Louis expired, A.D. 1733, leaving no issue, and was succeeded by his Catholic cousin, Charles Alexander, who, although a distinguished officer, was totally inept for government. He intrusted the helm of state to his court Jew, Süss Oppenheimer, who shamelessly robbed the country. He established a "gratification court," where all the offices of state were sold to the highest bidder; "a court of exchequer," where justice was put up to auction. To those who were unable to pay he lent money at the rate of a gros per florin (the Jews' groschen). He also kept a large shop, from which he furnished the court wardrobes, and established a lottery for his private gain. He, moreover, extended the system of monopoly to leather, groceries, coffee-houses, even to the cleaning of chimneys, as well as the

right of pre-emption, as, for instance, in regard to wood; and, lastly, burdened the country, even foreigners during their residence in it, with a heavy protection, income, and family tax, A.D. 1736. He also gave way to the most unbridled license, and either by fraud or by violence disturbed the peace of families.—The patient endurance of the people and the example of the Pfalz inspired the Jesuits with the hope of recatholicizing Wurtemberg by means of her Catholic duke. The first step was to place the Catholics on an equal footing with the Protestants, and a conspiracy, in which Suss took part, was entered into for that purpose. Troops were expected from the bishop of Wurzburg. Orders were prepared for the Wurtemberg household troops. The people were to be disarmed under pretext of putting a stop to poaching. The duke, who, it was probably feared, might, if present, oppose severe measures, was to be temporarily removed. The ancient constitution was to be done away with; "The hydra head of the people shall be crushed," wrote General Remchingen, one of the chief conspirators, to Fichtel, the duke's privy-councillor. But, during the night of the 13th of March, 1737, the duke suddenly expired, a few hours before the time fixed for his departure. He was long supposed to have been assassinated, but, most probably, died of apoplexy. His cousin, Charles Rudolph, undertook the government during the minority of his son, Charles Eugene, who was then in his ninth year. The Catholic conspiracy fell to the ground; Remchingen fled; the Jew, Süss, was exposed on the gallows[1] in an iron cage.

The first elector of Hanover, Ernest Augustus, who suddenly restored the power of the divided and immoral Guelphic house, was not free from the faults of the age. Although the champion of the honor of Germany, he was a slave to French fashions, unprincipled and licentious, faithless and

[1] These gallows were made of the iron which Honauer had attempted to turn into gold. Honauer first adorned them in 1597, then the Jew Süss, three alchemists, Montani, Muscheler, and Von Mühlenfels, a Stuttgard incendiary, and, lastly, a thief, who had attempted to steal the iron from the same gallows. They were very high and weighed thirty-six hundred weight and twelve pounds.

ungrateful to his noble consort, Sophia, in whose right his son mounted the throne of Great Britain. He built Montbrilland for his mistress, Madame von Kielmansegge, and the Fantaisie for the other, the Countess Platen. His Italian chapel-director, Stephani, controlled the government. His neglected consort, Sophia, a woman of high intelligence, consoled herself by her friendship for Leibnitz, the greatest genius of the day. George, his son and successor, married a near relation, Sophia Dorothea, the daughter of the last duke of Celle, who, becoming enamored of a Count Kœnigsmark, attempted to fly with him in the design of turning Catholic. Her plan was discovered and frustrated; the count was beheaded and she was detained a prisoner for life, A.D. 1691. The elector, notwithstanding the severity with which he visited adultery in his wife, was not free from a similar imputation. He kept numerous mistresses, among others, Irmengarde Melusina von Schulenburg, who gained such undisputed sway over him that he took her to England on his accession to the throne, created her duchess of Kendal, and induced Charles VI. to bestow upon her the title of Eberstien as princess of the empire. He mounted the British throne, A.D. 1714, and, in order to confirm his seat, completely devoted himself to the interests of Great Britain. Hanover was utterly neglected and converted into an English province, a stepping-stone for England into the German empire. The fact that the absence of the prince afforded no alleviation of the popular burdens is characteristic of the times. The electoral household, notwithstanding the unvarying absence of the elector, remained on its former footing for the purpose of imposing upon the multitude and of assuring lucrative appointments to the nobility. The palace bore no appearance of being deserted; except the elector himself, not a courtier, not a single gold-laced lackey, was wanting to complete the court; the horses stamped in the stalls, nay, the fiction of the royal presence was carried to such a degree that the Hanoverians were cited for their devotion to royalty and for their rage for titles. The courtiers,

resident in Hanover, assembled every Sunday in the electoral palace. In the hall of assembly stood an arm-chair, upon which the monarch's portrait was placed. Each courtier on entering bowed low to this portrait, and the whole assembly, as if awe-stricken by the presence of majesty, conversed in low tones for about an hour, when the banquet, a splendid repast prepared at the elector's expense, was announced. The clemency whereby the fate of the subjects of other states is sometimes alleviated, had, however, disappeared with the monarch, and to this may be attributed the rude arrogance of the nobility and the cruelty of the legislature, which, even up to the present time, retained the use of torture. The example offered by the people and parliament of England might have been followed, but the Hanoverian diet had slumbered since 1657, and merely vegetated in the form of an aristocratic committee. The minister, von Munchhausen, was the first who governed, as far as the spirit and circumstances of the times allowed, in a patriotic sense. He gained great distinction by founding the university of Gœttingen, which he richly endowed, A.D. 1737. Royal Hanover no longer condescended to send her subjects to the little university of Helmstædt in Wolfenbuttel.

In Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, the aged duke, Antony Ulric, who gave way to unbridled license in his palace of Salzdahlum, but who promoted science by the extension of the celebrated Wolfenbuttel library,[1] turned Catholic when nearly eighty, in order to testify his delight at the marriage of his grand-daughter with the emperor, Charles VI. His son, Augustus William, imitated his luxury, and, guided by a certain von Dehn, gave himself up to all the fashionable vices of the day and persecuted Munchhausen. He was succeeded by his brother, Louis Rudolph, A.D. 1731, by whom order was restored. He left no issue, and was succeeded, A.D. 1735, by Ferdinand Albert von Bevern (a younger branch, founded by a brother of Antony Ulric), a learned

[1] Better than by his wearisome romances and his expensive Italian opera.

collector of scientific objects, who was shortly afterward succeeded by his son, Charles.

In Mecklenburg, the scandalous government of Charles Leopold was succeeded by the milder one of his brother, Christian Louis, A.D. 1719.

In East Friesland, George Albert, the son of Christian Everard, continued the contest with the Estates and the city of Emden, and created, in opposition to the ancient Estates or malcontents, fresh and obedient ones. Right was in this instance again unprotected by the emperor and the empire, by whom the ancient Estates were denounced as rebels. Emden resisted, several bloody battles took place, but at length the Danes came to the count's assistance, the ancient Estates were suppressed, and the property of the malcontents was confiscated. Charles Edward, the count's son, married, A.D. 1727, a princess of Baireuth, and entered into an agreement by which, on his dying without issue, in 1744, East Friesland was annexed to Prussia.

In Denmark, Frederick IV. married Anna Sophia, the beautiful daughter of his chancellor, Reventlow. Extravagant devotion was brought into vogue during the reign of his son, Christian VI., by his consort, Sophia Magdalena, a princess of Baireuth, and by her court chaplain, Blume, A.D. 1746. The celebrated minister, Bernstorf, commenced a beneficial reform in the administration under his son, Frederick V.

Holstein had severely suffered during the war and under the licentious government of Count Gortz, after whose execution the affairs of state were conducted almost equally ill by the family of Bassewitz in the name of the youthful duke. The nobility were extremely cruel and intractable. In 1721, a Ranzau caused his elder brothers to be assassinated; another, in 1722, starved several of his serfs to death in prison. Both were merely punished by a short imprisonment. A third member of this family had, however, as early as 1688, offered a very contrary example, by being the first to liberate the serfs on his estates. A controversy among the priest-

hood caused the citizens of Kiel, A.D. 1708, to rise in open insurrection. The Ditmarsch peasantry revolted, A.D. 1740, on account of the abuses to which the levy of recruits gave rise.

Leopold of Dessau was the only one among the fallen princes of the house of Anhalt who earned distinction. He reformed the Prussian army, introduced the use of metal ramrods and a rapid movement in close columns, and prepared Prussia for the great part she was henceforward to perform on the theatre of war in Europe.[1] He was extremely rough in his manners, was subject to ungovernable fits of fury, was, moreover, a drunkard, and tyrannized over the people of Dessau. He, nevertheless, lived in great harmony with the beautiful daughter of an apothecary,[2] who was recognized by the emperor.

A collateral branch of the house of Hohenzollern-Brandenburg, the reigning one of Prussia, continued to reign in the Margraviates of Baireuth and Anspach. Christian Ernest of Baireuth, A.D. 1712, created the alchemist, Krohnemann, prime minister, but sent him, nevertheless, to the gallows for his ill-success in discovering the secret of making gold. His son, George William, founded the far-famed Hermitage, where the hermit passed his days in wanton luxury. His son, Frederick, married the celebrated princess, Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina of Prussia, sister to Frederick the Great, whose Memoirs so graphically depicture the times. She has unhesitatingly and unsparingly described both her father's and husband's court and related all the events of that period: the fact that a princess could thus speak of her own relations is a strong proof, were any wanting, of the prevalence of French frivolity. Her husband had, A.D. 1743, founded the

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[1] He was the darling of the soldiery, and the Dessau march, long after his time, led the Prussians to victory.

[2] Anna Louisa Föhse, the apothecary's daughter, had steadily refused to become his mistress. He remained, on his side, faithful to her during his campaigns and married her on succeeding to the government. She bore him ten children, five of whom were sons. Three fell and the other two were severely wounded during the seven years' war.

university of Erlangen, but was, notwithstanding, a mere lover of the chase, and was first misled by her to spend sums in the erection of palaces, theatres, etc., ill-suited to the revenue of his petty territory.

Charles William Frederick von Anspach, who succeeded to the government in 1729, was feared as a madman and a tyrant. He intrusted the administration to the nobility, more particularly to the family of Seckendorf, while he gave himself up to the pleasures of the chase, to a couple of mistresses, and to fits of rage, which caused him to imbrue his hands in the blood of others. He was for some time completely guided by a Jew, named Isaac Nathan, who practiced financial swindling, and, for a short period, solely reigned under the title of "resident." The little Margrave, wishing to bestow a great honor on the English monarch, sent him the red order of the eagle set in brilliants. The Jew, Ischerlein, who was on an understanding with Nathan, undertook the commission and falsified the diamonds, which was instantly perceived by King George, who accordingly neglected to send a reply to the Margrave. An inquiry took place and the imposition was discovered. The Margrave instantly sent for the Jew and for a headsman. Ischerlein came, was bound down to a chair, but no sooner caught sight of the headsman than, springing up, he ran, with the chair attached to him, round the long table standing in the middle of the hall, until the headsman, encouraged by the Margrave, at length contrived to strike off his head across the table. Nor did the resident escape the Margrave's wrath; he was closely imprisoned, deprived of the whole of his ill-gotten wealth, and, A.D. 1740, expelled the country. The Margrave, during another of his fits of rage, shot the keeper of his hounds. He died of apoplexy, caused by the fury to which he was roused by the conduct of Mayer, the Prussian general, who, at that period, A.D. 1757, chastised the petty princes of the empire.—These Margraves of Anspach and Baireuth appeared as protectors of Protestantism in opposition to the princes of Hohenlohe (Bar-

tenstein and Schillingsfurst), who, as Catholics, tyrannized over their Protestant relatives, the Counts von Hohenlohe (Œhringen), attempted to abrogate the consistory at Œhringen and to extirpate Protestantism. The Margrave's troops compelled the princes to remain tranquil, and, notwithstanding the loud complaints of the Bavarian Jesuits, to make full restitution.

CCXXXIII. *The Ecclesiastical Courts—The Salzburg Emigration*

THE archbishops and prince-bishops of the Catholic church, instead of being taught by the great lesson inculcated by the Reformation, emulated the temporal princes in luxury and license. Clement of Cologne, brother to the elector of Bavaria, had fixed his voluptuous court at Bonn. Here French alone was spoken, and luxury was carried to such a height that even during Lent there were no fewer than twenty dishes on the archiepiscopal table. This gallant churchman had a hundred and fifty chamberlains and passed great part of his time at Paris, where he associated with the licentious courtiers and acted in a manner that inspired even the French with astonishment. Duclos relates, "It was very strange to see the elector of Cologne, who resided at Paris, standing in the royal presence, the king sitting in an armchair, and, when dining with the Dauphin, sitting among the courtiers at the lowest end of the table. When at Valenciennes, he caused his intention of preaching on the first of April to be proclaimed. The church was thronged on the given day. The elector mounted the pulpit, gravely bowed to the assembly, made the sign of the cross, and exclaiming, 'April fools all of ye!' descended amid the sound of trumpets, hunting-horns, and kettle-drums, and quitted the church." The city of Cologne was completely ruined under his government. The religious persecution drove all the industrious manufacturers and traders into the neighboring country, and enriched Muhlheim, Dusseldorf,

and Elberfeld at the expense of Cologne, which was at length almost solely inhabited by monks and beggars.

The bishops, to whom the venerable episcopal cities and cathedrals offered a silent reproof, withdrew, for the more undisturbed enjoyment of their pleasures, to more modern residences, where they revelled in magnificence and luxury. Bonn, Bruchsal, and Dillingen severally afforded a voluptuous retreat to the archbishops of Cologne, Spires, and Augsburg. John Philip Francis, bishop of Wurzburg, a scion of the noble house of Schonborn, held an extremely splendid court. His palace and the buildings pertaining to it were built on the plan of Versailles, and are, even at the present day, objects of admiration.[1] He was, moreover, bishop of Bamberg, where he held a separate court, to which no less than thirty chamberlains were attached. Father Horn, who ventured to preach against ecclesiastical luxury and license, languished for twenty years chained in a deep dungeon at Wurzburg, until 1750, when death released him from his sufferings. The archbishop of Salzburg had twenty-three chamberlains and sixteen courtiers, the châteaux of Mirabella, Klessheim, and Hellbrünn, establishments, completely on a temporal footing, with pleasure-gardens, basins, fountains, grottos with statues of naked divinities, nymphs and satyrs, a menagerie, orangery, and theatre. Luxury was here hereditary and was transmitted from one archbishop to another. In 1699, for instance, the archbishop, John Ernest, entertained the consort of Joseph, the Roman king, with fetes; among others, with a grande battue, in which bulls, bears, wild boars, deer, etc., were driven into a narrow circle and torn to pieces by large hounds, and with a ball, on the conclusion of which he presented her with a silver table and a costly mirror for her morning toilet.

This example was followed by numerous other bishops,

[1] One of his predecessors, Peter Philip von Dornbach, had, A.D. 1669, thrown the cornet, Eckhard von Peckern, a handsome youth, whose attractions were, in the eyes of a Madame von Polheim, superior to those of the bishop, into prison and starved him to death. See Schramberg's article concerning the family of Dornbach.

princely abbots, and prelates of every description. Augustin, abbot of Altaich, had an annual income of one hundred thousand florins and expended three hundred thousand. The priests of the Teacher of humility paraded in gilt carriages drawn by six stallions, Heiducks standing behind, footmen running before, followed by a train of gay cavaliers, chased the wild-boar in their forests or lounged in luxurious boudoirs, their fat fingers gleaming with diamonds, on soft cushions, their mistresses around, a dainty banquet before them. Their luxury had long become proverbial. The episcopal cellars abounded with the good things of this world, and men, bound by a vow of denial and poverty, unhesitatingly named their store-places the cellar of God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, of all saints, etc. The depravity, especially of the women, in all the episcopal demesnes and cities was proverbial. The spiritual fathers took their daughters to their bosom and servility boasted of the honor.

The rich benefices, the offices in the cathedrals and other establishments, were, like all the higher civil and military posts, monopolized by the nobility. In order to secure the exclusion of the burghers, those alone who counted a certain number of ancestors or who paid a considerable sum of money could be admitted. An ill-successful applicant said, on one occasion, "I am not rich enough to take the vow of poverty!" The nobility, habituated from their birth to luxury and license, continued the same practices in the establishments of the church.

Deep amid the mountains of Salzburg dwelt a pious community, which, since the time of the first Reformation, had secretly studied the German Bible, and, unaided by a priesthood, obeyed the precepts of a pure and holy religion. The gradual extension of this community at length betrayed its existence to the priests, and, in 1685, the first cruel persecution commenced in the Tefferekerthal, and, on the failure of the most revolting measures for the conversion of the wretched peasants to Popery, they were expelled their homes and sent

to wander o'er the wide world, deprived even of a parent's joy, their children being torn from them in order to be educated by the Jesuits. In the ensuing year, a number of mountaineers with their preacher, Joseph Schaidberger, were also compelled to quit their native country.

The secret church, however, far from being annihilated by these measures, rapidly increased her number of proselytes. The purity and beauty of a religion free from the false dogmas of a grasping hierarchy offered irresistible attractions to the hardy and free-spirited mountaineers; the persecution, the license permitted at the ecclesiastical court of their spiritual sovereign, the utter depravity pervading the whole of the upper classes, the church, and the army, filled them with the deepest disgust and caused them to cling with still greater tenacity to their secret persuasion. Divine service was performed during the silent night in the depths of the forest or in the hidden recesses of the mountains. They buried their Bibles in the forest, and, at first, refused to confide the place of their concealment to their wives and daughters. By practicing the external ceremonies of the Catholic church, they remained, notwithstanding their numbers, long undiscovered. A trifling incident at length disclosed the whole. One of their number, shocked at the profanation of the Saviour's name by the use of the Catholic salutation, "Praised be Jesus Christ," by drunkards and gamesters, refused to reply to it, and, being imitated by the rest of his persuasion, a discovery took place. The brutal archbishop, Leopold Antony von Firmian,[1] condemned the first who refused to return this salutation to be cruelly beaten, to be bound up awry with dislocated limbs,

[1] Firmian had given the pope one hundred thousand dollars for the Pallium. His attendants and associates were chiefly Italians, and he would follow the chase for days together. The rest of his time was devoted to the Countess Arco at the chateau of Elesheim, and the government was intrusted to his chancellor, a poor Tyrolese, named Christian, a native of Räll, who Italianized his name and termed himself Christiani da Rallo. The pope bribed him with fifty thousand dollars to gain the archbishop over to his interests.—*Panse, History of the Salzburg Emigration.* Part of the city of Salzburg had been buried, shortly before these events, A.D. 1669, by the fall of a mountain.

to be exposed during the depth of winter to hunger and cold, in order to compel them to recant. They remained firm. The miserable peasants imagined in their simplicity that the diet would exert itself in their favor! They still harbored a hope that the interests of the great German nation, of which they formed a part, might be represented in the diet! But their deputation found that in Ratisbon affairs dragged slowly on, and that while the lawyers scribbled the bishop acted. The Protestant deputies, who had taken up the cause of the Salzburg peasantry, allowed themselves to be led astray by the sophistry, evasions, and impudent assertions of the Baron von Zillerberg, Firmian's subtle agent at Ratisbon. The deputation was, on its return, thrown into prison, and the persecution was carried on with unrelenting cruelty. Physical torture proving ineffectual, the archbishop tried the effect of enormous fines. This measure proved equally futile. Enraged at his ill success, he at length sent a commission to find out the numbers of the heretics, and, on being informed that they amounted to twenty thousand, observed, "It does not matter, I will clear the country of the heretics although it may hereafter produce but thorns and thistles." The commissioners asked the people whether they were Lutheran or Zwinglian. The simple-minded peasants had never heard of either; they had only studied the Bible, and replied, "We are evangelical." They were now irremediably lost. However, putting their trust in God, they formed a great confederacy at Schwarzach, August 5, 1731, and swore to lay down their lives rather than deny their faith. Each man, on taking this oath, stuck his finger into a saltcellar, whence the confederacy received the appellation of the *Salzbund* of God, possibly a play upon the name of their country or upon the biblical saying, "Ye are the salt of the earth," or, what is still more probable, in allusion to the mysteries taught by Theophrastus Paracelsus, who had died at Salzburg and had recognized a divine primordial faculty in salt. The smith, Stullebner of Hüttau, was the most remarkable among their leaders. He preached so eloquently

that the whole of his congregation generally hurried to embrace him at the conclusion of his discourse. A parody upon his sermons has been published by the Jesuits. The peasants were also encouraged by their poet, Loinpacher, one of whose songs has been preserved by Vierthaler.

The confederacy, in point of fact, possessed sufficient strength, especially in the mountains, to defend itself against the archbishop and his myrmidons, but the Catholics cunningly represented these peasants—who were neither Catholics, nor Lutherans, nor Zwinglians, and consequently belonged to none of the privileged churches—as political rebels, in order to deprive them of the protection of the Protestant princes; and it was principally on this account, if not from an enthusiastic notion of religious humility, that they formed the determination not to oppose violence to violence, to the great discomfiture of the archbishop and of Räll, who had already promulgated a report of their being in open rebellion.[1] The emperor, Charles VI., meanwhile, alarmed lest the contagion might spread among his own subjects in the mountains, lent a willing ear to the tale which furnished him with a ready pretext for taking the severest measures. The deputation, sent by the Salzburg peasantry to beg for his interference, was, by his orders, imprisoned at Linz; a decree, commanding the unconditional submission of the Salzburg rebels, was published, and six thousand men were sent into the mountains in order to enforce obedience. The soldiers, incited by their officers and by the priests, fell upon the peasantry like hounds upon the timid deer. They were dragged from their homes, cruelly beaten, together with their wives and children, and plundered. For upward of a month, during September and October, 1731, these crimes were countenanced by the archbishop, who tortured the heads of the communes in prison while the villagers fell a prey to the license of the

[1] The arsenal at Werfen was plundered during the night time; it was ere long, however, clearly proved to have been done by suborned Catholics. Although, as Casparis relates, all the peasantry were, like the Tyrolese, sharpshooters, they unresistingly allowed themselves to be disarmed.

soldiery. The peasantry, nevertheless, still continued steadfast in their faith, and the king of Prussia threatening to treat his Catholic subjects as Firmian treated his Protestant ones, Räll became alarmed lest the wretched peasant might in the end find a protector (the emperor also being compelled on account of the Pragmatic Sanction to keep on good terms with the Protestant princes), and came to the determination of expelling every Protestant from the country, as, at the same time, the most convenient method of contenting the pope, of extirpating heresy in the mountains, and of pacifying the king of Prussia, to whom the colonization of the wide uncultivated tracts in his territories was an object of no small importance. Recourse was, however, again had to every devisable method for the conversion of the peasantry, in order to guard, if possible, against the entire depopulation of the country by emigration. The most scandalous measures were resorted to, but in vain. The sentence of banishment was passed, and, although the laws of the empire assured free egress to all those emigrating on account of religion together with the whole of their property, they were totally disregarded by the archbishop and the imperial troops, and the peasantry were hunted down in every direction. Those at work in the fields were seized and carried to the frontier without being allowed to return home, even for the purpose of fetching their coats. Men were in this manner separated from their wives, parents from their children. They were collected in troops and exposed to the gibes of the priests, the soldiers, and the Catholic inhabitants, who gathered around them as they were hurried along. Besides being thus compelled to abandon their homes, they were deprived by the commissioners of any sums of money they happened to possess, and were merely granted a meagre and insufficient allowance for the expenses of the journey.

These cruelties were, however, unfelt when compared with the deprivation of their children. Upward of a thousand children were torn from their parents. Some of the peasants, broken-hearted at this calamity, forgot their oath

and begged to be allowed to remain in order to avoid separation from their children; they were mercilessly beaten, driven out of the country, sometimes obliged to stand helplessly by while their unhappy children were tortured and ill-treated. Complaints were unavailing. "We obey the emperor's command," was the sole reply. Frederick William I., the noble-hearted king of Prussia, was the only German prince who exerted himself in their favor, and even threatened the archbishop with reprisals; but he was too distant; the inhuman separation of the children from their parents, a barbarity worthy of cannibals and of the savages of the wild, not of a civilized nation, so deeply revolted the Prussian monarch that he despatched commissioners to Salzburg in the hope of saving some of the children by this exertion of his authority, but in vain. Some of the boys, more courageous than the rest, afterward succeeded in escaping from the hands of the Jesuits, and in begging their way to the new settlements on the Baltic.

The expelled peasantry were, ere long, followed by crowds of voluntary emigrants, more particularly from Berchtesgaden. They were mocked and ill-treated during their passage through the Catholic countries, but found a friendly reception in Wurtemberg, Nuremberg, and Hesse. A part of them went to Holland and North America, but the greater number, amounting to sixteen thousand three hundred souls, went into Prussia and settled in the dwelling-places assigned to them by the king on the Niemen near to Tilsit, where their descendants still flourish.

The pope bestowed high encomium and the title of *excelsus* on the archbishop. The establishment of a fresh Inquisition completely extinguished the liberty of conscience still feebly glimmering in the mountains. The more wealthy inhabitants were, notwithstanding the religious test, exposed to suspicion and to the consequent confiscation of their property. Missionaries travelled from house to house, listened to the guileless talk of the women and children, and then followed confiscation, scourging, imprisonment, or banish-

ment. The *Reck* or rack-tower in the fortress of Werfen was destined exclusively for heretics, who were slung at an immense depth by long chains. According to the assertion of a traitor named Vitus Loitscherger, no fewer than two hundred persons were, in 1743, delivered to the Inquisition.

A similar persecution, though not to such an extent, befell the secret Protestants in Austria at about the same period. The mountaineers in the Salzkammergut were, A.D. 1733, first treacherously examined under an assurance of liberty of conscience and then carried away by the soldiery and transported to Transylvania. The twelve hundred first sent away were, in 1736, followed by three hundred more. But when, in 1738, a great number of Protestants were discovered in the Traun district and in Kremsmünster, permission to emigrate was refused and some hundreds of them were shut up in a crooked position, exposed to the inclemency of the weather and miserably fed; many of them died. In 1740, Count von Seckau banished eight hundred men, but retained their wives and families, whom he compelled to embrace Catholicism.

In 1660, the rebellion of the peasantry belonging to the countship of Wied on the Rhine, and, in 1680, that of the Bohemian peasants, against the heavy socage-service, occasioned its limitation by the emperor to a certain number of days. The people of Hauenstein in the Black Forest also refused to remain bound as serfs to the monastery of St. Blase, and, in 1728 and 1730, formed a secret confederation, under the name of Saltpetres, for the recovery of their liberty, and, in fact, purchased their freedom from the abbot in 1738. In 1757, the Styrian peasantry rebelled against the heavy average-service.[1] In 1665, the citizens of Lubeck, in

[1] On the 7th of August, 1704, the peasantry attacked the unpopular Count von Wurmbrand in his castle in Styria, dragged him forth and murdered him, each man dealing him a blow in order that all might, without exception, participate in the murder. In 1709, a noble clerk was beaten to death with flails by the peasantry. The nobles still possessed sufficient power to tyrannize. A Count von Droste-Vischering in the Bergland, being obstructed when hunting

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1708 those of Hamburg, in 1720 those of Brussels, opposed the usurpations of the city oligarchy, which secretly managed the government and practiced usury. In 1716, the citizens of Spires again rebelled against their bishop, who threatened to take summary vengeance on one of their number who is said to have spoken ill of him. His fellow-citizens took his part and prevented the bishop from executing his threat, until the peasantry, at his instigation, suddenly attacked the city, killed numbers of the citizens, and disarmed the rest. This martial bishop was named Henry Hartard von Rollingen.

Since the great revolt of the peasantry in Switzerland, that people had, from time to time, vainly sought to shake off the yoke of the city aristocracy. After a long fermentation, Toggenburg, so long enslaved by the Catholic cantons and by the abbot of St. Gall, was, 1707, on the intercession of Zurich and Berne, restored to the enjoyment of religious liberty. The entry of the Zurichers into Toggenburg and the acts of violence committed by the Reformers of Toggenburg in a Catholic church, however, again roused the ancient religious feud. The Catholic population, who had risen for the abbot, tore their leader, Felber, whom they suspected of treachery, to pieces. The anger of the Catholic cantons was roused. At Schwyz, the brave Stadler, who spoke in favor of the rights of the people of Toggenburg, was beheaded. War broke out. At Bremgarten, the vanguard of the Catholics was beaten by the Bernese. The Catholics, doubly enraged at this repulse and animated by the nuncio and by the monks, rose en masse and overwhelmed the Bernese vanguard at Muri; three hundred of the Bernese were burned to death in the church and on the tower of Merischwarden, where they had long defended themselves; the wounded were torn to pieces by dogs. A second decisive battle was fought, A.D. 1712, at Villmergen, where a con-

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by a smithy, had it razed to the ground. The proprietor complained and received full compensation for his loss, but was not allowed to rebuild the smithy. See Montanus, Olden Times in Cleves and Berg.

test had formerly taken place for a similar cause. The Reformed cantons were victorious. The Bernese generals, Tscharner and Diessbach, being dangerously wounded, Frisching, the mayor, a man seventy-four years of age, took the command and gained the day. The Catholics left between two and three thousand men dead on the field. Peace was made at Aargau, and the confederation remained unbroken, notwithstanding the attempt made by Louis XIV., shortly before his death, to divide it into two independent parts according to their confession of faith, in order to rule with greater facility over both. A dispute that not long afterward broke out between Lucerne, ever so zealously Catholic, and the pope contributed, no less than the defeat at Villmergen, to promote toleration toward the Reformers. On the occasion of the consecration of the church at Udligenswyl, in 1725, dancing was prohibited by the clergyman, Andernatt, but being allowed by the temporal authorities, Andernatt appealed to his spiritual superiors and protested against the permission. He was suspended and banished by the council of Lucerne, but was protected by Passionei, the nuncio, who quitted Lucerne and removed his residence to Altorf. The dispute increased in virulence; the pope threatened, but the five Catholic cantons assembling and declaring in favor of the council of Lucerne, he was compelled to yield, and Andernatt remained in banishment, A.D. 1731. Shortly after this, the same council of Lucerne, by way of compensation to the pope, condemned an unlucky peasant, Jacob Schmidli of Sulzig, for reading the Bible and expounding it to others, to the stake and his house to be levelled with the ground, A.D. 1747.

The Swiss governments, at that period, relieved themselves from their discontented subjects by sending them into foreign service. The higher posts in the army were hereditary in the aristocratic families and were extremely lucrative. From 1742 to 1745 there were twenty-two thousand Swiss serving in France, twenty thousand in Holland, thirteen thousand six hundred in Spain, four thousand in Sar-

dinia, two thousand four hundred in the imperial army, besides several regiments at Naples and the old Swiss guard at Rome.

In Berne, the power became gradually more firmly centred in a few of the great aristocratic burgher families. Besides the actual reigning council there was another pseudo one, in which the young patricians managed all the business, in order to learn the art of government; the rest of the citizens were excluded from all participation in public affairs. The material comfort of the citizens was well attended to by the aristocracy, and Berne consequently excelled almost all her sister cities in wealth and luxury; but the mind of the citizen was enslaved, and the insolence with which the patricians and their wives treated their fellow-citizens surpassed even the brutality of the coxcombs attached to the worst of the German courts. A conspiracy, set on foot by Henzi, the Bernese captain, was discovered, and he was executed together with two of his associates. The headsman several times missing his stroke and hacking him on the neck, he cried out, "Everything, down to the headsman, is bad in this republic!" His charge against the aristocracy, in which he describes the manners of that time, is a masterly production. His death has been immortalized by Lessing.

PART XXI

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA

CCXXXIV. *Frederick William the First*

THE Reformation had been converted by Luther into a cause of the princes, but they knew not how to improve the power placed by him in their hands. Saxony at first took the lead, but speedily retrograded, and Denmark, the successor to her forsaken power, ever actuated by an unholy motive, merely aimed, under pretence of protecting religious liberty, at extending her sway over the cities and provinces of Germany. A separation, consequently, ere long again took place between her and Sweden, but the death of Gustavus Adolphus gave a death-blow to every hope, and Sweden imitated the mean policy of Denmark. The Guelphic house, when scarcely settled and promoted to the electoral dignity, emigrated to England, and Luther's grand bequest was transferred solely to the house of Brandenburg.

Frederick I., although fond of pomp and luxury and oftentimes misled, was fully conscious of the value of sowing for the future. The assumption of the royal dignity was simply an external sign of future and still unobtained grandeur, a hint to posterity. The improvement of the Prussian army by Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, who benefited Prussia with the science he had acquired under Eugene, whose military creations in Austria had died with him, was of far greater importance, and no less so was the toleration with which the king favored liberty of thought in the new

university of Halle, although, it may be, simply owing to his desire to raise its fame by that means above that so long enjoyed by the Saxon universities.

Leibnitz, although indubitably the greatest genius of the age, was, owing to his works being written either in Latin or in French, his high favor with the electoral house of Hanover, and his courtly habits, destitute of influence over the people. A few of the learned men of the times met with better success in supplying the real wants of the people, which was principally done by the professors of the university of Halle, Thomasius and Franke, both of whom formerly belonged to that of Leipzig. Thomasius felt that Germany must be roused before she could be rescued from her state of deep degradation; he consequently rejected the Latin pedantry hitherto fostered by the universities and demanded that the learned men of Germany should again speak and write in pure German, the first step toward the enlightenment of the people, the banishment of the ancient superstitions, of the thousand-fold prejudices, and of the slavish fear, by which his countrymen were artificially bound. He appealed to reason and at the same time inculcated true Christian benevolence, respect for the natural rights of man. To his eloquence was it entirely owing that a stop was almost everywhere put to the burning of witches. He spoke with equal warmth against torture and the other practices of the Roman law, by which German liberty was ignominiously converted into slavery. But in this he was unsuccessful; priestly prejudices were voluntarily sacrificed, but those in which temporal tyranny found an advantage were held sacred. He no sooner interfered with political matters than he fell under the ban. In Saxony, he was the first who ventured to reveal the base policy of the long deceased Hoe von Hoenegg. Justly roused to anger, he dared to maintain, in defiance of the Danish court-chaplain, Masius, who, like Pfaff in Tubingen, had recommended Lutheranism, on account of its servility, to all princes, that religion was of too holy a nature to be degraded to a mere political

tool. This assertion was the signal for persecution. In Copenhagen, his controversial works were burned by the hangman. At Leipzig, an attempt was made to seize his person and the whole of his property was confiscated. He found an asylum at Halle and a noble patron in Frederick I., who gave his pen unshackled liberty.

He was accompanied in his retreat from Leipzig by the pious Franke, the founder of the celebrated Orphan Asylum at Halle. He was Thomasius's best friend, and not only shared his views on education, but sought to realize them by the introduction, for the first time, of solid instruction into his orphan school, where, besides the Latin and theological pedantry of the schools, to which all instruction had been hitherto restricted, the German language, modern languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, and history were taught. But Franke was also a pietist or disciple of the school of piety founded by Spener. Sound human reason and genuine feeling had at that time leagued against the pedantry of the schools, which was as remarkable for want of sense as for its cold heartlessness, and even a cursory glance at the immense revolution effected since this period by enlightenment and, it may be, no less by sentiment, at once demonstrates the importance of the protection granted by Prussia to the first prophets of modern intelligence.

Frederick I. was succeeded, A.D. 1730, by his son, Frederick William I., who, although an enemy to freedom of thought and the persecutor of Thomasius's successor, the philosopher, Wolf, whom he threatened with the gallows and expelled Halle, was an excellent guardian over the material interests and morals of his subjects. His first step, immediately on his accession to the throne, was the reduction of his father's court, which was placed on an extremely simple and economical footing. Gold-embroidered dresses and enormous perukes were no longer tolerated. The king appeared in a little blond peruke, a close-fitting dark-blue uniform turned up with red, with his sword at his side and a strong bamboo in his hand. The French, their license, and their manners

were so hateful to him that, in order to render them equally unpopular with the people of Berlin, he ordered the provosts and jailers to be dressed in the last French fashion, and "The Marquis dismissed with Blows," a piece eminently anti-Gallic, to be represented on the stage. Often, when, like the other German princes, tempted by the crafty French court, would he exclaim, "I will not be a Frenchman. I am thoroughly German and would be content were I but president of the imperial court of finance." On another occasion, he said, "I will place pistols and swords in my children's cradles and teach them to keep the foreigner out of Germany."

He believed and often declared himself to be "only the first servant of the state," and excused his excessive despotism on the score of duty.[1] This also accorded with his religious notions. He considered himself as a servant of God and wished to be the faithful shepherd of his flock. Endowed with great personal activity, he tolerated idleness in no one, and would sometimes bestow a hearty drubbing with his own hand on the loungers at the street corners in Berlin. Manly and courageous, he had a horror of effeminacy and cowardice, and, on one occasion, gave a Jew a good thrashing for dreading the whip. He bore an almost implacable hatred to his own son, afterward Frederick the Great, merely because he suspected him of cowardice.

He habituated his subjects to labor and industry, and promoted their welfare to an extraordinary degree, while at the same time he filled the exchequer. Partly for the purpose of depriving the people of Berlin of other modes of ex-

[1] Among the executions that took place at his command, that of the intrigant, Clement, who, by stirring up the cabinets of Austria and Prussia, sought to fish in troubled waters, has attracted most attention. The most remarkable among them was, however, that of a Count von Schlubeuth, who had treated his serfs with extreme cruelty. He set the king at defiance, and said, "It is not the fashion to hang a noble." He was, nevertheless, hanged on the ensuing morning. When the king for the first time introduced the taxation of the nobility and was opposed in this measure by the Estates of Eastern Prussia, he boldly prosecuted his intended reforms, and wrote, "I establish my sovereignty like a rock in bronze."—He set a great value on his giant-guard, and, on one occasion, thrashed the whole of his military council for condemning one of them to death for thieving.—*Stenzel, History of Prussia.*

travagance, partly for that of concentrating the whole power of the state by the foundation of a large metropolis, he compelled the people to build new houses in Berlin, in the Friedrichsstadt. The purport of his decree ran simply thus, "The fellow is rich, let him build." Simplicity of dress and manners, economy, thrift, public morality, health, honesty, and truth, were strictly enjoined. In his daily intercourse with the people, he praised industrious workmen and clean housewives, scolded the idle and dirty. House thieves were mercilessly hanged before the house-door. In his own person he offered an example of economy. While other princes gave expensive fetes to their foreign guests and ambassadors, Frederick William conducted them to his smoking-room and invited them to smoke and drink beer with him. This chamber was often the scene of important negotiations. Even Francis of Lorraine, who subsequently mounted the imperial throne, was a frequent visitor to this smoking-room for the purpose of gaining the vote of Prussia for the approaching election. Still, the coarse amusements of this monarch, who took delight in plying his foreign guests with beer until drunkenness ensued, and in rendering them sick to death with the unaccustomed fumes of tobacco, his utter contempt of learning, as shown by his treatment of the learned Gundling[1] as a court-fool, and the brutal jokes passed upon him and others for the amusement of his boon companions, but too forcibly indicate a recurrence to the uncouth manners of the preceding century.

The army, excellently organized by Dessau, was the object of the king's greatest care, and it was from him (he always wore a uniform) that the whole state and population took the martial appearance still forming their strongest

[1] Gundling, although created a baron, a member of every council of state, and, moreover, president of the Academy of Sciences, was compelled to permit an ape, dressed like himself, to be seated at his side at table, mustaches to be painted on his face, etc., etc. His body was, after his decease, notwithstanding the protest of the clergy, buried, at the royal command, in a cask instead of a coffin. The king, on one occasion, compelled the Frankfort professors to dispute with his court-fools over the thesis, "Savants are fools."

characteristic, and which, at that time, was alone able to enforce respect. Germany had, for a century, been plundered by the foreigner. Arms alone were wanting for her defence and the terrors of war would again march in her van. The formation of an army was consequently the grand desideratum, and Frederick William may therefore be pardoned for his Potsdam hobby,[1] his grenadier guard, composed of men of gigantic stature, whom he collected from every quarter of the globe, either received in gift or carried away by force. His recruiting officers were everywhere notorious for the underhand means by which they gained recruits, and were often exposed to the greatest peril when engaged in pressing men into the service. In Holland, one of them was, *sans ceremonie*, hanged. Hanover threatened Prussia with war on account of the subjects stolen from her territory. There was, moreover, a feud between the king of Prussia and George, king of England and elector of Hanover, the latter having wedded the Margravine of Anspach, the object of Frederick William's affection, and having bestowed upon him in her stead his sister, Sophia Dorothea, to whom, like a good and steady citizen, he nevertheless remained faithful.

The sound sense that rendered this gallant monarch the irreconcilable enemy of France also guided him in his policy toward Poland. Instead of acceding to the partition of that kingdom, of contenting himself with her smallest division, and of exposing the frontiers of Germany to the colossal power of Russia, he endeavored to raise her as a bulwark against the hostile North, and strenuously counselled the Polish nobility to remain united, to keep themselves free from foreign influence, and to elect as their sovereign one of their own order, no foreigner, least of all one recommended by Russia. Well may Germany revere this noble prince! His policy was, as that of all her sovereigns ought ever to have been and to be, genuinely German. The straightfor-

[1] He greatly extended and beautified Potsdam on account of the refusal of the Berlinese to maintain too numerous a garrison.

ward German honesty of the father was, nevertheless, destined to cede to the foreign tastes of the son.

The young crown prince, Frederick, was extremely beautiful during his infancy and early evinced the rarest intelligence. The timidity inspired by the severity of his father was mistaken by the latter for cowardice and hypocrisy, and the terms on which they lived became daily worse. The son devoted the whole of his leisure to the study of French works, which, owing to their lightness and wit, naturally presented far greater attractions to his young and imaginative mind than the heavy German literature of the day, with the best of which he was, moreover, unacquainted, studies of that nature being unpatronized at courts, and Frederick's sole guide being the young and libertine Lieutenant von Katt, who initiated him in modern French philosophy. Voltaire at that time reigned supreme. His ideas, his wit, his style, were the delight of his contemporaries. Diminutive, horribly ugly, a devil's mask under an enormous peruke, he was the ape of our great Luther, and the effect he produced upon France, a caricature of the Reformation in which German dignity and depth of thought were parodied by French flippancy and frivolity. Like Luther, he waged war with the priesthood, and by ridiculing their depravity ruined them in the opinion of the public. But, instead of confining his attack to the abuses in the church, he directed it against Christianity itself. Instead of seeking to heal the diseases of the church, he attempted to destroy all she still retained of holy, sound, or good. He sought to replace the strict and moral precepts of the ancient religion by a modern and frivolous philosophy, by which men were taught to disbelieve the promises of the Saviour, were relieved from every fear of eternal punishment, and were permitted to follow their own inclinations in this world. Virtue and vice both disappeared and were replaced by wit and dulness. The witling was never in the wrong, might act as he pleased, and was ever the more amiable the more he laughed at others. Although guilty of the most abominable crimes, he was ever an excel-

lent wit, courted by all and tolerated everywhere. The simplicity of virtue was the climax of ridicule, a scorn and an obloquy. Morality was treated with open contempt, and the most barefaced license was practiced under pretence of obeying the laws of nature. The youthful prince heard, on the one hand, the brutal invectives of his father, long-winded discourses from the pulpit, which, in the bombastic and insipid style of the day, prohibited the most innocent enjoyments; and, on the other hand, read the most ravishing descriptions of scenes of sensual delight and the delusive phrases of the convenient philosophy of the day, which dissolved every tie of duty by the pretended boon of liberty, and all this in the honeyed words of Voltaire. The contrast was too forcible. The secrecy with which the prince was compelled to prosecute his French studies naturally added to their zest. He was as if inspired and began to write, to philosophize, and to poetize completely in Voltaire's style; nor did he neglect to put his precepts into practice, and his youth and health ere long fell a prey to the consequences of vice.[1]

His father, on discovering these proceedings, punished him unmercifully with his cane. The royal youth attempted to escape, during a journey through Franconia, to the English court, which, on account of his engagement to one of the English princesses, seemed to offer the safest asylum; his design was, however, discovered; he was seized at Frankfort and carried into the presence of his father, who personally ill-treated him, and, drawing his sword, was on the point of running him through, when he was prevented by General Mosel. The prince and his accomplice, Katt, were, however, condemned to death for desertion, and the execution of the sentence was merely prevented by the representations of the foreign courts. Frederick pined for several weeks in prison with a Bible and a book of hymns for recreation. A scaffold was erected opposite his prison window, and he was

[1] Hence his unblessed marriage at a later period, his separation from his wife and the companions of his youth, and his solitary existence in the palace of Sans Souci.

compelled to witness the execution of his ill-chosen friend and counsellor, Katt. Nor was the lesson without effect. On his release, he passed gradually through the different offices in chancery, and made himself acquainted with all the minutiæ of the business of the state. While thus occupied, he discovered so much talent that a complete reconciliation took place between him and his father, who gave him the Rheinsperg for his residence, where, without neglecting political science, he cultivated the muses and carried on a correspondence with Voltaire and other celebrated French philosophers and poets. Both father and son learned to regard each other with mutual esteem, and the latter, on mounting the throne, far from recalling his former ill-treatment, ever spoke with reverence and gratitude of the parent who so well prepared him for a period replete with peril.

CCXXXV. *Maria Theresa*

Charles VI. expired, A.D. 1740. The inutility of the Pragmatic Sanction became instantly apparent, each of the parties interested in its revocation forgetting their oath, and the Habsburg possessions were alone saved from dismemberment by Maria Theresa, Charles VI.'s daughter, a woman distinguished for beauty and for a character far surpassing in vigor that of her father and those of many of her ancestors.

Charles Albert, the licentious elector of Bavaria, quitted the arms of his mistresses, Moravika and the Countess Fugger, in order to set up a claim to the whole of the Habsburg possessions. He not unjustly maintained that if the property were to pass into the female line, his claim, as the direct descendant of Albert, duke of Bavaria, who had married a daughter of Ferdinand I., was superior to that of Maria Theresa herself. For the better success of his project, he entered into alliance with France,[1] the ancient foe, and, with Prussia, the modern rival of the house of Habsburg.

[1] He wrote in the basest terms to the French king, as, for instance, 'Je regarderai S. M. toujours comme mon *seul* soutien et mon unique appui. Si vous

Frederick William of Prussia also expired A.D. 1740, leaving to his son Frederick II. thirty million dollars in the exchequer and a well-disciplined army, amounting to seventy-two thousand men. The moment seemed propitious, and Frederick, without waiting for Bavaria or France, invaded Silesia during the autumn under pretext of making good his ancient but hitherto unasserted claim upon the duchies of Liegnitz, Wohlau, Brieg, and Jægerndorf. The Austrians under Neipperg, taken by surprise, were defeated at Molwitz near Brieg by the Count von Schwerin, Frederick merely acting the part of a spectator in this first engagement. The result of this success was a treaty, at Nymphenburg, with France[1] and Bavaria, which was also joined by Saxony; and the elector of Bavaria, with a numerous French army under Belleisle and a Saxon force under Rutowski, the natural son of Augustus, entered Bohemia and was proclaimed king at Prague, the Bohemians, as Frederick said, gladly seizing the opportunity to free themselves from the unpopular rule of the Habsburg. Even the Catholic clergy in Silesia, whom Frederick greatly flattered, were opposed to the Habsburg. The Catholic church was not only permitted to retain the whole of her immense revenue, but was prohibited by Frederick to send any portion of it to Rome. The Catholic faith was, at the same time, protected, and the Catholics had every reason to be contented with the Prussian monarch.

Maria Theresa was exposed to the utmost peril. Hungary, where but shortly before the sovereignty of the Habsburg had been confirmed amid torrents of blood, alone remained true to her cause. She convoked the proud magnates to the diet and appeared among them attired in the Hungarian costume, the sacred crown upon her head, the sabre

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me faites monter, s'il étoit possible, sur ce trône impérial, je n'ai point de termes qui puissent exprimer toute l'étendue de ma réconnoissance." He promised, "Je tâcherai toujours d'unir les intérêts de l'empire à ceux de la France. Je verrai le jour de mon élévation devenir l'époque la plus glorieuse de *votre ministère.*"—*Schlosser's History of the Eighteenth Century.*

[1] The French king had the impudence at the time that he recognized the elector as emperor to nominate him his lieutenant-general.

girded to her side, radiant with beauty and spirit, and called upon them, on their duty as cavaliers, to stand up in her cause. The whole assemblage, fired with enthusiasm by her charms, exclaimed with one voice, "Moriamur pro rege nostro, Maria Theresa!" (Let us die for our king, Maria Theresa!) and took the field at the head of their serfs, thirty thousand cavalry, and wild hordes of Pandurs and Croats, which, leaving the French at Prague, moved upon Bavaria. The circumstance of the elector being at that conjuncture at Frankfort[1] for the purpose of solemnizing his coronation as Charles VII., emperor of Germany, inflamed the Hungarians with still greater fury. Bavaria was terribly devastated, particularly by Menzel, general of the hussars, a Saxon by birth, who took Munich, A.D. 1742, on the same day on which the elector was crowned at Frankfort, revived all the horrors of the thirty years' war, and, on the Bavarians threatening to rise en masse, gave orders that "all those taken with arms in their hands should be compelled to cut off each other's noses and ears, and should then be hanged."[2] Bärnklau (or, more properly, Percklö, Baron von Schönreuth) and Trenk with the Pandurs committed equal excesses, and the peasants, driven to despair, rose against them. The inhabitants of Cham and Mainburg were cut down to a man, those of Landsberg kept their ground, and those of Tölz succeeded in depriving the Pandurs of great part of their booty. Lukner, who afterward became a field-marshal in the French service, chiefly distinguished himself among the Bavarians. Seckendorf, now an old man and an Austrian exile, was raised to the command of the Bavarian troops, but effected little. Bärnklau took Ingolstadt, hitherto deemed impregnable. Khevenhüller shut up sixteen thousand French, who had, under Segur, ventured from Bohemia

[1] Charles was crowned by his brother of Cologne. Belleisle, the French ambassador, played the chief part, and, formally taking upon himself the character of protector, took precedence of all the German princes.

[2] When the French cried out "Pardon, Monsieur!" the hussars responded with "Mors! Mors!" cut off their heads at a blow, stuck them on their sabre points, and carried them about in triumph.

into Austria, in Linz, and took them prisoner,[1] before Frederick, who had invaded Moravia and taken Olmutz, could advance to their assistance.

On the second defeat of the Austrians under Charles of Lorraine (in whose name Browne commanded), at Chotusiz, by Frederick, Maria Theresa offered, A.D. 1742, to cede Silesia to him on condition of his withdrawal from the treaty of Nymphenburg. The offer was instantly accepted, and peace was concluded at Breslau. Saxony was also gained over by the gift, on the part of Maria Theresa, of rich lands in Bohemia to Count Bruhl.

The next step was the expulsion of the French from Prague. Belleisle was closely shut up. A fresh French army under Harcourt approached to his relief and drove the Austrians out of Bavaria, but fell a prey to cold and famine. A third army under Maillebois penetrated as far as Bohemia, but retraced its steps, being forbidden by the miserable petticoat-government under Louis XV. to hazard an engagement. Belleisle, driven desperate by famine, at length made a vigorous sally and fought his way through the Austrians, but almost the whole of his men fell victims during the retreat to the severity of the winter. The Bavarians under Seckendorf and twenty thousand French under Broglio, who attempted to come to his relief, were defeated by Khevenhuller at Braunau.

Fortune declared still more decidedly during the campaign of 1743 in Maria Theresa's favor, George II., king of England (who, not long before, through fear of losing Hanover, had yielded to the counsels of France and Prussia and had voted in favor of Charles VII.), actuated by a double jealousy, on account of England against France and on account of Hanover against Prussia, bringing a *pragmatic* army levied in Northern Germany[2] to her aid. Notwith-

[1] Segur's wife was received on her appearance in the theatre at Paris with the derisive cry of "Linz! Linz!" and died of shame and terror.

[2] Among which were twenty thousand Swiss mercenaries and six hundred Hessians whom he had purchased from the Landgrave of Hesse, who had also

standing his bad generalship, he was victorious at Dettingen, not far from Aschaffenburg, over the French, who were still worse commanded by Noailles. In the ensuing year, Charles of Lorraine crossed the Rhine at the head of the whole Austrian army and laid Alsace and Lorraine waste.[1]

These successes were beheld with impatience by Frederick, who plainly foresaw the inevitable loss of Silesia, should fortune continue to favor Maria Theresa. In Austria, public opinion was decidedly opposed to the cession of that province. In order to obviate the danger with which he was threatened, he once more unexpectedly took up arms and gained a brilliant victory at Hohenfriedberg in Silesia, and another at Sorr in Bohemia, where Prince Lobkowitz, in attempting to rally his troops, cut down three Austrian captains, but was himself thrown down and cast into a ditch. Schwerin took Prague. The now venerable Dessau was again victorious at Kesselsdorf in Saxony, and Maria Theresa was compelled by the treaty of Dresden, A.D. 1745, once more to cede Silesia to the victorious Prussian.—The war with France was still carried on. The Marchioness of Pompadour at that time governed Louis XV. and bestowed the highest offices in the army on her paramours. She was at length seized with a whim to guide the operations of the campaign in person and took the field with an immense army (among which were twenty-two thousand Swiss), commanded by Noailles. The campaign was, however, a mere fete for the king and his mistresses, and nothing of importance was in consequence effected. The vanguard under Segur was defeated at Pfaffenhofen, and some skirmishing parties were cut to pieces by the peasantry in the forest of Bregenz. The main body was de-

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sold six thousand of his subjects to Charles VII. It was merely owing to a favorable chance that the unfortunate Hessians were not compelled to fight each other.

[1] The sultan Mahmud V. attempting to make peace between the contending parties, the French ambassador at The Hague remarked, "The Turks begin to think like Christians." "And the Christians," replied the grand pensionary, Fagel, "act, none the less, like Turks."

tained by the siege of Freiburg in the Breisgau, where it lost twelve thousand men, A.D. 1744. Charles VII. expired in the ensuing year, and his youthful son and successor, Maximilian Joseph, being inclined to peace, Bavaria being, moreover, a scene of fearful desolation and Seckendorf neglected by the French, the treaty of Fussen, which restored everything to its ancient footing, was concluded, A.D. 1745, between Bavaria and Austria.—The French instantly withdrew from the Upper Rhine to prosecute the war with redoubled fury in the Netherlands, where they were served by Maurice of Saxony, who had a theatre in his camp and made life one long fete diversified by victories. He was opposed by the English under the Duke of Cumberland and by the Dutch under Waldeck. He defeated them at Fontenoy and took Ghent, Bruges, and Brussels, where Louis XV. made a triumphal entry, A.D. 1745. In the following year, Charles of Lorraine entered the Netherlands with an imperial auxiliary force, but was again beaten by Rancoux and Cumberland at Laffeld, A.D. 1746. Maurice[1] also took Maestricht. And all these deeds were done for France! This attack had, like its predecessors, the effect of placing a Prince of Orange at the head of the army and of the state. On William's accession to the British throne, and on his dying without issue, the house of Orange was represented by a side-branch, John William Friso, stadtholder of Friesland. He was drowned, and his posthumous son, William IV., succeeded, A.D. 1711, to the hereditary stadtholdership.—France also at that time created a diversion for England. Charles Edward Stuart,[2] the grandson of the exiled king, James II., aided by French gold, raised a rebellion in Scot-

[1] The French had the impudence to speak of him as "ce brave Comte de Saxe, qui lave si bien par sa valeur la honte d'être né Allemand." Maurice wrote a work on the science of war. He died A.D. 1750, and was buried at Strasburg.

[2] He afterward married the Countess Stolberg, so celebrated for her beauty, who, under the title of Duchess of Albany, lived unhappily with this simple prince. She was termed "la reine des cœurs," on account of her amiability. She was the friend of the Italian poet Alfieri.

land in the hope of expelling the house of Hanover from the throne of Britain, but was defeated at Culloden, A.D. 1746.

In Italy, the Austrians under Lobkowitz also opposed the French, Spanish, and Neapolitans, while an English fleet struck Naples with terror. It was not, however, until 1746, that the war was decided by the arrival of strong reinforcements from Austria. Browne was victorious at Guastalla, Lichtenstein at Piacenza, and Provence was on the point of being invaded, when the population of Genoa, hitherto stanch imperialists, rebelled against General Botta, who had condemned some of the citizens to the lash and had demanded a contribution of twenty-five millions as well as all their arms, and, headed by a Doria, drove the imperialists, after a battle that lasted several days, out of the city, December, 1746. The war was at length terminated by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Each party remained *in statu quo*, Maria Theresa alone ceding Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla to a Spanish prince, with the proviso of their reversion to Austria in case of his dying without issue; her husband, Francis I., was recognized emperor by all the European powers. On his coronation, A.D. 1746, at Frankfort, Maria Theresa withdrew in order that all the honor might be conferred upon him alone, and no sooner was the ceremony concluded, than, stepping on the balcony, she motioned to the people and was the first to cry "Vivat!" Francis, nevertheless, was merely invested with the imperial dignity, and Maria Theresa reigned alone, aided by her subtle minister Kaunitz. Francis, although totally devoid of ambition, possessed great mercantile inclinations and amused himself with secretly transacting money business. He had the merit of reforming the imperial household and of putting a stop to the lavish expenditure that had been allowed under Charles VI.

Frederick II., after gaining laurels in the field, equally distinguished himself as a statesman and a *bel esprit*. Like his father, absolute in his sovereignty, he brought the machine of state, alone subservient to his will, to a higher de-

gree of perfection. His administration was unparalleled. The increase of the wealth of the country by the cultivation of waste land and by industry, a limited expenditure, and the strict observance of economy and order, formed the basis of his plan. He equally aimed at order, simplicity, and strict justice in legal matters, and, in 1746, caused the *corpus juris Fridericianum*, the basis of the provincial law of Prussia, to be drawn up by Cocceji. The use of torture was abolished. The strictness with which the public officers were disciplined was as flattering to the people as the fame they had lately gained during the war and the acquisition of the fine and fertile province of Silesia. Frederick, although at that period at the height of his popularity, withdrew, A.D. 1747, from public to private life. In the lonely solitudes of Sans Souci, a palace built by him in the vicinity of Berlin, he lived separate from his consort, Elisabeth Christina of Wolfenbuttel, and devoted himself to the state and to the study of French literature. With the exception of his generals and ministers, the blind instruments of his will, he was surrounded by Frenchmen. He founded an academy of sciences, presided over by Maupertius and almost totally composed of Frenchmen.[1] Frederick both wrote and composed in French. He also played well on the flute.

While Prussia was thus rising in the scale of European powers, Saxony was reduced by her minister, Bruhl, to the

[1] His favorite, Voltaire, visited him in 1745, and again in 1750, with the intention of remaining with him; the two philosophers did not, however, long agree. Frederick sometimes set a limit to the pretensions of the vain, mean, and grasping Frenchman, who treated the Germans with unheard-of insolence. On one occasion, when at table with the king, he termed one of the royal pages a Pomeranian beast. The king, shortly afterward, making a journey through Pomerania with Voltaire in his suite, the page in revenge spread a report of his being the king's ape, and the peasants, deceived by his extraordinary ugliness, assembled in crowds round his carriage, from which they would not allow him to descend, teasing him as if he were in reality an ape. Voltaire at length fled from the Prussian court, carrying away with him some interesting papers belonging to the king. He was deprived of them at Frankfort on the Maine, and was allowed to depart. A correspondence, nevertheless, continued to be carried on between him and the king, who again esteemed him as a man of talent, when no longer reminded of his puerilities by his presence.

verge of ruin. He had already burdened her with a debt of a hundred million dollars, for two years he had withheld the public salaries, and these measures proving insufficient, he had sold Saxon troops to the Dutch and English for the defence of their colonies, A.D. 1751. Josepha, princess of Saxony, had, four years earlier, been married to the French Dauphin, to whom she bore three kings, Louis XVI., Louis XVIII., and Charles X., whose sad fate might well result from the union of two courts governed by a Pompadour and a Bruhl.—The deep dungeons of the Königstein, the Sonnenstein, and the Pleissenburg were crowded with malcontents. These horrors occasioned the retreat of Count Zinzendorf from the world, and, in 1722, his offer of an asylum in the Herrnhut to persons equally piously disposed. He termed himself "the assembler of souls." He was banished as a rebel by Bruhl, but was, A.D. 1747, permitted to return and to continue his pious labors.

The rising prosperity of Prussia, the superior talents and statesmanship of her king and his unsparing ridicule had gained for him the enmity of all his brother sovereigns. The mention of Silesia filled Maria Theresa alternately with rage and sorrow, and her subtle minister ingratiated himself ever the more deeply in her favor by his unwearying endeavors to regain possession of that rich and fertile country. Elisabeth, empress of Russia, enraged at Frederick's biting satire on her unbridled license, was, notwithstanding the little interest felt by Russia in the aggrandizement of Austria, ready to lend her aid. England was, on account of her ancient alliance with Austria, pointed out as a third ally. France, on the eve of declaring war with England on account of her colonies, sought, as formerly, to form a confederacy with Prussia. Monsieur de Rouille said to Kniphausen, the Prussian ambassador at Paris, "Write to your king that he must aid us against Hanover; there is plenty to get; the king has only to make the attack; he will have a good haul." Frederick had, however, no intention to quarrel with England, and before the French minister had recov-

ered from his astonishment at the refusal, Kaunitz[1] unexpectedly proposed an alliance between Austria and France, and Maria Theresa was actually induced, in her anxiety to gain over Louis XV., to send a confidential letter to Madame de Pompadour, whom she addressed as her cousin. France, independent of the condescension of the Austrian empress, naturally lent a willing ear to the proposal, nor will she at any time refuse her aid to one German potentate against another so long as her interest is promoted by civil dissensions in Germany. The possession of a German province would again have rewarded France had not the league, notwithstanding its strength, been overthrown. Austria deprived herself of her glorious title of defender of Germany against France, and for the future lost the right of reproaching other states with their unpatriotic policy.[2] On the second

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[1] Prince Kaunitz's policy to raise France at the expense of the empire ran exactly counter to that of Frederick William of Prussia and offers a rare example of depravity. Kaunitz founded the Viennese chancery of state, the wheel by which the mechanism of government was turned. He was the oracle of the diplomatic world and was long termed "the European coachman." He, however, forgot that the policy of the German emperor ought also to be German. He was one of those wiseacres of his time who overlooked the real wants, powers, and limits of the nations under his rule, and who formed artificial states in defiance of nature. Countries appertaining to one another, nations similar in descent, were torn asunder; others, separated by nature or differing in origin, were pronounced one. Enmity was sown between the most natural political allies, and those whom nature had intended for opponents were joined together in alliance. The greater the inconsistency the more indubitable the talent of the diplomatist. Kaunitz was a thorough personification of this unnatural policy. He was even in his person a caricature. His admirer, Hormayr, relates of him, "He never enjoyed nor could endure the open air. If, during the summer heats, when not a leaf stirred, he, by chance, sat in his armchair in the chancery garden adjoining the Bastei or passed thence, a few steps further, to the palace, he carefully guarded his mouth with his handkerchief. He always dressed according to the weather and had his rooms well furnished with thermometers and barometers. In the autographic instructions given to each of his lecturers, he begged of them never to mention in his hearing these two words, 'death and smallpox.' His highest expression of praise was ever, 'My God! I could not have done it better myself.'"

[2] Keith, the English ambassador, did not fail to represent the iniquitous conduct of France against the German empire to the empress, Maria Theresa. In reference to the possibility that France might repay herself for her alliance with a province of Western Germany, Maria Theresa declared her policy to be that of the house of Habsburg, not that of Germany: "I can take little interest in distant provinces; I must confine myself to the defence of the hereditary states, and have but two enemies to dread, Turkey and Prussia." Frederick was, in

of May, 1756, the treaty of Versailles was concluded between Austria and France. According to the terms of that treaty, France was to bring one hundred and five thousand men into the field and to take ten thousand Bavarians and Wurtembergers into her pay against Prussia, besides paying an annual subsidy of twelve million francs to Austria, in return for which she was to hold part of the Netherlands with the harbor of Ostend. The rest of the Netherlands (Luxemburg excepted) was bestowed upon a French prince, Philip of Parma. The fortress of Luxemburg was to be razed to the ground. Austria, on the other hand, was to hold Silesia and Parma; Saxony, Magdeburg, the circle of the Saal, and Halberstadt; Sweden, Pomerania; Poland, at that time in alliance with Saxony, the kingdom of Prussia; Russia, Courland and Semgall. Cleves was also to be severed from Prussia.—This treaty was, however, merely provisional. The alliance between the two empresses and France (the Marquise de Pompadour), termed by Frederick "l'alliance des trois cotillons," was still by no means concluded. Negotiations with Russia were still pending. Saxony, although destined to play a part of such importance, had not yet been consulted.[1] Her adherence, as well as that of Sweden, was

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point of fact, as little German in his policy. He would unhesitatingly have rewarded France for her aid with a German province, nor was it owing to him that, at all events, part of the Netherlands did not fall under her rule. Once only, during the seven years' war, was he struck with the folly of two German powers fighting for the advantage of France. "Imagine, my Lord," wrote Mitchel, "the wretched state of Europe. The two principal powers of Germany have almost succeeded in ruining each other, while France looks on with secret delight, apparently aiding one and perhaps stirring up the other in order to accelerate the downfall of both. Would it were possible to reconcile Prussia and Austria, and to turn both against France! Senseless and impossible as this project may appear, it was, nevertheless, assented to by Frederick II. in a conference before the battle of Prague."

[1] The proof is contained in the documents concerning the occasion of the seven years' war; Leipzig, Teubner, 1841. When Austria, in 1746, laid the preliminaries to an alliance with Russia against Prussia, into which she attempted to draw Saxony, Saxony refused her participation and was consequently not admitted into the negotiations secretly carried on, at a later period, by Austria with France and Russia. The revelations, asserted by Frederick the Great to have been made to him by Mentzel, the clerk of the Saxon chancery, from papers out of the secret cabinet, were, consequently, by no means the principal

deemed certain, Bruhl, the Saxon minister, bearing a personal hatred to Frederick on account of the scorn with which he had been treated by that monarch.

The news of the treaty of Versailles found Frederick prepared for the event. Clearly foreseeing the certain and speedy coalition of his enemies, he determined to be the first in the field and to surprise them ere they had time to coalesce. Deeply sensible of the hazard of his position, he carried poison on his person during the whole of the protracted war, being firmly resolved not to survive the loss of his possessions. To appeal to God and to the justice of his cause was denied him, for his sufferings were merely a retaliation of those he had inflicted upon others. The partition of Prussia in 1756 was equally just with that of Austria in 1741. National enthusiasm was a thing unknown, for the people were slaves accustomed to be passed from one rule to another. Frederick's sole resource lay in his genius, and in this he alone confided for success as he courageously unfurled his flag before Austria had armed or war had been declared by France. A man of a less decisive character would have hesitated, would still have hoped, negotiated, or have made concessions to such overwhelming opponents, instead of boldly taking the initiative and proving to the astonished world that peril, however great, may be surmounted by courage and decision. Frederick's enemies intended to bring against him a force of five hundred thousand men, to surround and crush him. This force had, however, still to be levied; the object of Frederick's whole policy was consequently the prevention of the coalition of the forces of his opponents in order to attack them singly. The pretended discovery of papers in Berlin, disclosing the whole plan of the coalition, provided him with a pretext for the declaration of war, and the diplomatic world was by this means led to be-

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cause of the war. Frederick learned the most important secrets from Vienna and Petersburg. Maria Theresa also committed the imprudence of solemnizing the festival of St. Hedwig, the protectress of Silesia, with remarkable pomp at Vienna.

lieve in the reality of the manœuvres he had simply foreseen. His denunciation of a coalition, still formally unconcluded, was instantly productive of the catastrophe.

England, deluded by a pretended alliance between France and Prussia, joined Austria and Russia, an alliance that was viewed with pleasure by George II., between whom and Frederick a personal dislike existed. The deception was, however, no sooner discovered than the parliament and the prime minister, Pitt, ranged themselves on the side of Prussia, and the king was compelled to yield. Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Gotha, and Lippe also joined Prussia. The rest of the empire, seduced by bribery, sided with Austria and France. Bavaria, apparently the least likely of all the European powers to join with Austria for the destruction of Prussia, had, since 1750, received monthly from France (from the secret fund) the sum of 50,000 livres, amounting in all to 8,700,000 livres. The Pfalz also received 11,300,000; Pfalz-Zweibrucken, 4,400,000; Wurtemberg, 10,000,000; Cologne, 7,300,000; Mayence only 500,000; Anspach, Baireuth, Darmstadt about 100,000; Liege, Mecklenburg, Nassau, something more, altogether 3,000,000; even the petty principality of Waldeck received 50,000. The empire was in this manner bought. France had so much superfluous wealth that she also paid a subsidy of 82,700,000 livres to Austria, and another of 8,800,000 to Saxony, toward the expenses of the war with Prussia.

CCXXXVI. *The Seven Years' War*

In the autumn of 1756, Frederick, unexpectedly and without previously declaring war, invaded Saxony, of which he speedily took possession, and shut up the little Saxon army, thus taken unawares, on the Elbe at Pirna. A corps of Austrians, who were also equally unprepared to take the field, hastened, under the command of Browne, to their relief, but were, on the 1st of October, defeated at Lowositz, and the fourteen thousand Saxons under Rutowsky at Pirna

were in consequence compelled to lay down their arms, the want to which they were reduced by the failure of their supplies having already driven them to the necessity of eating hair-powder mixed with gunpowder. Augustus III. and Bruhl fled with such precipitation that the secret archives were found by Frederick at Dresden. The electress vainly strove to defend them by placing herself in front of the chest; she was forcibly removed by the Prussian grenadiers, and Frederick justified the suddenness of his attack upon Saxony by the publication of the plans of his enemies. He remained during the whole of the winter in Saxony, furnishing his troops from the resources of the country. It was here that his chamberlain, Glasow, attempted to take him off by poison, but, meeting by chance one of the piercing glances of the king, tremblingly let fall the cup and confessed his criminal design, the inducement for which has ever remained a mystery, to the astonished king.

The allies, surprised and enraged at the suddenness of the attack, took the field, in the spring of 1757, at the head of an enormous force. Half a million men were levied, Austria and France furnishing each about one hundred and fifty thousand, Russia one hundred thousand, Sweden twenty thousand, the German empire sixty thousand. These masses were, however, not immediately assembled on the same spot, were, moreover, badly commanded and far inferior in discipline to the seventy thousand Prussians brought against them by Frederick. The war was also highly unpopular and created great discontent among the Protestant party in the empire. On the departure of Charles of Wurtemberg for the imperial army, his soldiery mutinied, and, notwithstanding their reduction to obedience, the general feeling among the imperial troops was so much opposed to the war that most of the troops deserted and a number of the Protestant soldiery went over to Frederick. The Prussian king was put out of the ban of the empire by the diet, and the Prussian ambassador at Ratisbon kicked the bearer of the decree out of the door.

Frederick was again the first to make the attack, and, in the spring of 1757, invaded Bohemia. The Austrian army under Charles of Lorraine lay before Prague. The king, resolved at all hazards to gain the day, led his troops across the marshy ground under a terrible and destructive fire from the enemy. His gallant general, Schwerin, remonstrated with him. "Are you afraid?" was the reply. Schwerin, who had already served under Charles XII. in Turkey and had grown gray in the field, stung by this taunt, quitted his saddle, snatched the colors and shouted, "All who are not cowards, follow me!" He was at that moment struck by several cartridge-balls and fell to the ground enveloped in the colors. The Prussians rushed past him to the attack. The Austrians were totally routed; Browne fell, but the city was defended with such obstinacy that Daun, one of Maria Theresa's favorites, was, meanwhile, able to levy a fresh body of troops. Frederick, consequently, raised the siege of Prague and came upon Daun at Collin, where he had taken up a strong position. Here again were the Prussians led into the thickest of the enemy's fire, Frederick shouting to them, on their being a third time repulsed with fearful loss, "Would ye live forever?" Every effort failed, and Benkendorf's charge at the head of four Saxon regiments, glowing with revenge and brandy, decided the fate of the day. The Prussians were completely routed. Frederick lost his splendid guard and the whole of his luggage. Seated on the verge of a fountain and tracing figures in the sand, he reflected upon the means of realluring fickle fortune to his standard.

A fresh misfortune befell him not many weeks later. England had declared in his favor, but the incompetent English commander, nicknamed, on account of his immense size, the Duke of Cumberland, allowed himself to be beaten by the French at Hastenbek and signed the shameful treaty of Closter Seeven, by which he agreed to disband his troops.[1]

[1] The Hanoverian nobility, who hoped thereby to protect their property, were implicated in this affair. They were shortly afterward well and deservedly punished, being laid under contribution by the French.

This treaty was not confirmed by the British monarch. The Prussian general, Lewald, who had merely twenty thousand men under his command, was, at the same time, defeated at Gross-Zägerndorf by an overwhelming Russian force under Apraxin. Four thousand men were all that Frederick was able to bring against the Swedes. They were, nevertheless, able to keep the field, owing to the disinclination to the war evinced by their opponents.

Autumn fell, and Frederick's fortune seemed fading with the leaves of summer. He had, however, merely sought to gain time in order to recruit his diminished army, and Daun having, with his usual tardiness, neglected to pursue him, he suddenly took the field against the imperialists under the duke of Saxon-Hildburghausen and the French under Soubise. The two armies met on the 5th of November, 1757, on the broad plain around Leipzig, near the village of Rossbach, not far from the scene of the famous encounters of earlier times. The enemy, three times superior in number to the Prussians, lay in a half-circle with a view of surrounding the little Prussian camp, and, certain of victory, had encumbered themselves with a numerous train of women, wigmakers, barbers, and modistes from Paris. The French camp was one scene of confusion and gayety. On a sudden, Frederick sent General Seidlitz with his cavalry among them, and an instant dispersion took place, the troops flying in every direction without attempting to defend themselves; some Swiss, who refused to yield, alone excepted. The Germans on both sides showed their delight at the discomfiture of the French. An Austrian coming to the rescue of a Frenchman, who had just been captured by a Prussian, "Brother German," exclaimed the latter, "let me have this French rascal!" "Take him and keep him!" replied the Austrian, riding off. The scene more resembled a chase than a battle. The imperial army (*Reichsarmee*) was thence nicknamed the runaway (*Reissaus*) army. Ten thousand French were taken prisoners. The loss on the side of the Prussians merely amounted to one hundred and sixty men.

The booty chiefly consisted in objects of gallantry belonging rather to a boudoir than to a camp. The French army perfectly resembled its mistress, the Marquise de Pompadour.[1]

The Austrians had, meanwhile, gained great advantages to the rear of the Prussian army, had beaten the king's favorite, General Winterfeld, at Moys in Silesia, had taken the important fortress of Schweidnitz and the metropolis, Breslau, whose commandant, the Duke of Bevern (a collateral branch of the house of Brunswick), had fallen into their hands while on a reconnoitring expedition. Frederick, immediately after the battle of Rossbach, hastened into Silesia, and, on his march thither, fell in with a body of two thousand young Silesians, who had been captured in Schweidnitz, but, on the news of the victory gained at Rossbach, had found means to regain their liberty and had set off to his rencounter. The king, inspirited by this reinforcement, hurried onward, and, at Leuthen, near Breslau, gained one of the most brilliant victories during this war over the Austrians. Making a false attack upon the right wing, he suddenly turned upon the left. "Here are the Wurtembergers," said he, "they will be the first to make way for us!" He trusted to the inclination of these troops, who were zealous Protestants, in his favor. They instantly gave way and Daun's line of battle was destroyed. During the night, he threw two battalions of grenadiers into Lissa, and, accompanied by some of his staff, entered the castle, where, meeting with a number of Austrian generals and officers, he civilly saluted them and asked, "Can one get a lodging here too?" The Austrians might have seized the whole party, but were so thunderstruck that they yielded their swords, the king treating them with extreme civility. Charles of

[1] Seidlitz, who covered himself with glory on this occasion, was the best horseman of the day. He is said to have once ridden under the sails of a windmill when in motion. One day, when standing on the bridge over the Oder at Frankfort, being asked by Frederick what he would do if blocked up on both sides by the enemy, he leaped, without replying, into the deep current and swam to shore. The Black Hussars with the death's head on their caps chiefly distinguished themselves during this war.

Lorraine, weary of his unvarying ill-luck, resigned the command and was nominated stadtholder of the Netherlands, where he gained great popularity. At Leuthen twenty-one thousand Austrians fell into Frederick's hands; in Breslau, which shortly afterward capitulated, he took seventeen thousand more, so that his prisoners exceeded his army in number.

Fresh storms rose on the horizon and threatened to overwhelm the gallant king, who, unshaken by the approaching peril, firmly stood his ground. The Austrians gained an excellent general in the Livonian, Gideon Laudon, whom Frederick had refused to take into his service on account of his extreme ugliness, and who now exerted his utmost endeavors to avenge the insult. The great Russian army, which had until now remained an idle spectator of the war, also set itself in motion. Frederick advanced, in the spring of 1758, against Laudon, invaded Moravia, and besieged Olmutz, but without success; Laudon ceaselessly harassed his troops and seized a convoy of three hundred wagons. The king was finally compelled to retreat, the Russians, under Fermor, crossing the Oder, murdering and burning on their route, converting Custrin, which refused to yield, into a heap of rubbish, and threatening Berlin. They were met by the enraged king at Zorndorf. Although but half as numerically strong as the Russians, he succeeded in beating them, but with the loss of eleven thousand of his men, the Russians standing like walls. The battle was carried on with the greatest fury on both sides; no quarter was given; and men were seen, when mortally wounded, to seize each other with their teeth as they rolled fighting on the ground. Some of the captured Cossacks were presented by Frederick to some of his friends with the remark, "See, with what vagabonds I am reduced to fight!" He had scarcely recovered from this bloody victory than he was again compelled to take the field against the Austrians, who, under Daun and Laudon, had invaded Lusatia. He, for some time, watched them without hazarding an engagement, under an idea that they were themselves too cautious and timid to venture an

attack. He was, however, mistaken. The Austrians surprised his camp at Hochkirch during the night of October the 14th. The Prussians—the hussar troop of the faithful Ziethen, whose warnings had been neglected by the king, alone excepted—slept, and were only roused by the roaring of their own artillery, which Laudon had already seized and turned upon their camp. The excellent discipline of the Prussian soldiery, nevertheless, enabled them, half-naked as they were, and notwithstanding the darkness of the night, to place themselves under arms, and the king, although with immense loss, to make an orderly retreat. He lost nine thousand men, many of his bravest officers, and upward of a hundred pieces of artillery. The principal object of the Austrians, that of taking the king prisoner or of annihilating his army at a blow, was, however, frustrated. Frederick eluded the pursuit of the enemy and went straight into Silesia, whence he drove the Austrian general, Harsch, who was besieging Neisse, across the mountains into Bohemia. The approach of winter put a stop to hostilities on both sides.

During this year, Frederick received powerful aid from Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick, brother to Charles, the reigning duke, who replaced Cumberland in the command of the Hanoverians and Hessians, with great ability covered the right flank of the Prussians, manœuvred the French, under their wretched general, Richelieu, who enriched himself with the plunder of Halberstadt, across the Rhine, and defeated Clermont, Richelieu's successor, at Crefeld. His nephew, the crown prince, Ferdinand, served under him with distinction. Toward the conclusion of the campaign, an army under Broglio again pushed forward and succeeded in defeating the Prince von Ysenburg, who was to have covered Hesse with seven thousand men, at Sangerhausen; another body of troops under Soubise also beat Count Oberg on the Lutterberg. The troops on both sides then withdrew into winter quarters. The French had, during this campaign, also penetrated as far as East Friesland, whence they were driven by the peasantry until Wurmser of Alsace made terms

with them and maintained the severest discipline among his troops.

The campaign of 1759 was opened with great caution by the allies. The French reinforced the army opposed to the duke of Brunswick and attacked him on two sides, Broglio from the Maine, Contades from the Lower Rhine. The duke was pushed back upon Bergen, but nevertheless gained a glorious victory over the united French leaders at Minden. His nephew, the crown prince, Ferdinand, also defeated another French army under Brissac, on the same day, at Herford. The imperial army, commanded by its newly nominated leader, Charles of Wurtemberg, advanced, but was attacked by the crown prince, while its commander was amusing himself at a ball at Fulda, and ignominiously put to flight. Frederick, although secure against danger from this quarter, was threatened with still greater peril by the attempted junction of the Russians and Austrians, who had at length discovered that the advantages gained by Frederick had been mainly owing to the want of unity in his opponents. The Russians under Soltikow, accordingly, approached the Oder. Frederick, at that time fully occupied with keeping the main body of the Austrians under Daun at bay in Bohemia, had been unable to hinder Laudon from advancing with twenty thousand men for the purpose of forming a junction with the Russians. In this extremity, he commissioned the youthful general, Wedel, to use every exertion to prevent the further advance of the Russians. Wedel was, however, overwhelmed by the Russians near the village of Kay, and the junction with Laudon took place. Frederick now hastened in person to the scene of danger, leaving his brother, Henry, to make head against Daun. On the banks of the Oder at Cunnersdorf, not far from Frankfort, the king attempted to obstruct the passage of the enemy, in the hope of annihilating him by a bold manœuvre, which, however, failed, and he suffered the most terrible defeat that took place on either side during this war, August the 12th, 1759. He ordered his troops to storm a sand moun-

tain, bristling with batteries, from the bottom of the valley of the Oder; they obeyed, but were unable to advance through the deep sand, and were annihilated by the enemy's fire. A ball struck the king, whose life was saved by the circumstance of its coming in contact with an etui in his waistcoat pocket. He was obliged to be carried almost by force off the field when all was lost. The poet, Kleist, after storming three batteries and crushing his right hand, took his sword in his left hand and fell, while attempting to carry a fourth.

Soltikow, fortunately for the king, ceased his pursuit. The conduct of the Russian generals was, throughout this war, often marked by inconsistency. They sometimes left the natural ferocity of their soldiery utterly unrestrained, at others, enforced strict discipline, hesitated in their movements, or spared their opponent. The key to this conduct was their dubious position with the Russian court. The empress, Elisabeth, continually instigated by her minister, Bestuscheff, against Prussia, was in her dotage, was subject to daily fits of drunkenness, and gave signs of approaching dissolution. Her nephew, Peter, the son of her sister, Anna, and of Charles Frederick, Prince of Holstein Gottorp, the heir to the throne of Russia, was a profound admirer of the great Prussian monarch, took him for his model, secretly corresponded with him, became his spy at the Russian court, and made no secret of his intention to enter into alliance with him on the death of the empress. The generals, fearful of rendering themselves obnoxious to the future emperor, consequently showed great remissness in obeying Bestuscheff's commands. Frederick, however, although unharassed by the Russians, was still doomed to suffer fresh mishaps. His brother, Henry, had, with great prudence, cut off the magazines and convoys to Daun's rear, and had consequently hampered his movements. The king was, notwithstanding, discontented, and, unnecessarily fearing lest Daun might still succeed in effecting a junction with Soltikow and Laudon, recalled his brother, and by so doing occasioned the very

movement it was his object to prevent. Daun advanced; and General Fink, whom Frederick had despatched against him at the head of ten thousand men, fell into his hands. Shut up in Maxen, and too weak to force its way through the enemy, the whole corps was taken prisoner. Dresden also fell; Schmettau, the Prussian commandant, had, up to this period, bravely held out, notwithstanding the smallness of the garrison, but, dispirited by the constant ill success, he at length resolved, at all events, to save the military chest, which contained three million dollars, and capitulated on a promise of free egress. By this act he incurred the heavy displeasure of his sovereign, who dismissed both him and Prince Henry.[1] Fortune, however, once more favored Frederick; Soltikow separated his troops from those of Austria and retraced his steps. The Russians always consumed more than the other troops, and destroyed their means of subsistence by their predatory habits.[2] Austria vainly offered gold; Soltikow persisted in his intention and merely replied, "My men cannot eat gold." Frederick was now enabled, by eluding the vigilance of the Austrians, to throw himself upon Dresden, for the purpose of regaining a position indispensable to him on account of its proximity to Bohemia, Silesia, the Mere, and Saxony. His project, however, failed, notwithstanding the terrible bombardment of the city, and he vented his wrath at this discomfiture on the gallant regiment of Bernburg, which he punished for its want of success by stripping it of every token of military glory. The constant want of ready money for the purpose of recruiting his army, terribly thinned by the incessant warfare, compelled him to circulate a false currency, the English subsidies no longer covering the expenses of the war and his own territory being occupied by the enemy. Saxony

[1] Frederick the Great has been ever charged with ingratitude for this treatment of his brother, who expired during the ensuing year. Schmettau is the same officer who had risen to such distinction during the war with Turkey.

[2] Frederick replied to the loud complaints, "We have to do with barbarians, foes to humanity. We ought, however, rather to seek a remedy for the evil than to give way to lamentations."—*Klöber.*

consequently suffered, and was, owing to this necessity, completely drained, the town-council at Leipzig being, for instance, shut up in the depth of winter without bedding, light, or firing, until it had voted a contribution of eight tons of gold; the finest forests were cut down and sold, etc. Berlin, meanwhile, fell into the hands of the Russians, who, on this occasion, behaved with humanity. General Tottleben even ordered his men to fire upon the allied troop, consisting of fifteen thousand Austrians, under Lascy and Brentano, for attempting to infringe the terms of capitulation by plundering the city. The Saxons destroyed the château of Charlottenburg and the superb collection of antiques contained in it, an irreparable loss to art, in revenge for the destruction of the palaces of Bruhl by Frederick. No other treasures of art were carried away or destroyed either by Frederick in Dresden or by his opponents in Berlin.—This campaign offered but a single pleasing feature, the unexpected relief of Colberg, who was hard pushed by the Russians in Pomerania, by the Prussian hussars under General Werner.

Misfortune continued to pursue the king throughout the campaign of 1760. Fouquet, one of his favorites, was, with eight thousand men, surprised and taken prisoner by Laudon in the Giant Mountains near Landshut; the mountain country was cruelly laid waste. The important fortress of Glatz fell, and Breslau was besieged. This city was defended by General Tauenzien, a man of great intrepidity. The celebrated Lessing was at that time his secretary. With merely three thousand Prussians, he undertook the defence of the extensive city, within whose walls were nineteen thousand Austrian prisoners, and, on Laudon threatening to storm the place and not even to spare the child within its mother's womb, he coolly replied, "Neither I nor my men happen to be in the family way." He maintained the city until relieved by Frederick. The king hastened to defend Silesia, for which Soltikow's procrastination allowed him ample opportunity. Daun had, it is true, succeeded in forming a

junction with Laudon at Liegnitz, but their camps were separate, and the two generals were on bad terms. Frederick advanced close in their vicinity. An attempt made by Laudon, during the night of the 15th of August, to repeat the disaster of Hochkirch, was frustrated by the secret advance of the king to his rencounter, and a brilliant victory was gained by the Prussians over their most dangerous antagonist. The sound of the artillery being carried by the wind in a contrary direction, the news of the action and of its disastrous termination reached Daun simultaneously; at all events, he put this circumstance forward as an excuse, on being, not groundlessly, suspected of having betrayed Laudon from a motive of jealousy. He retreated into Saxony. The regiment of Bernburg had greatly distinguished itself in this engagement, and on its termination, an old subaltern officer stepped forward and demanded from the king the restoration of its military badges, to which Frederick gratefully acceded.

Scarcely, however, were Breslau relieved and Silesia delivered from Laudon's wild hordes, than his rear was again threatened by Daun, who had fallen back upon the united imperial army in Saxony and threatened to form a junction with the Russians then stationed in his vicinity in the Mere. Frederick, conscious of his utter inability to make head against this overwhelming force, determined, at all risks, to bring Daun and the imperial army to a decisive engagement before their junction with the Russians, and, accordingly, attacked them at Torgau. Before the commencement of the action, he earnestly addressed his officers and solemnly prepared for death. Daun, naturally as anxious to evade an engagement as Frederick was to hazard one, had, as at Collin, taken up an extremely strong position, and received the Prussians with a well sustained fire. A terrible havoc ensued; the battle raged with various fortune during the whole of the day, and, notwithstanding the most heroic attempts, the position was still uncarried at fall of night. The confusion had become so general that Prussian fought with

Prussian, whole regiments had disbanded, and the king was wounded, when Ziethen, the gallant hussar general, who had during the night cut his way through the Austrians, who were in an equal state of disorder, and had taken the heights, rushed into his presence. Ziethen had often excited the king's ridicule by his practice of brandishing his sabre over his head in sign of the cross, as an invocation for the aid of Heaven, before making battle; but now, deeply moved, he embraced his deliverer, whose work was seen at break of day. The Austrians were in full retreat. This bloody action, by which the Prussian monarchy was saved, took place on the 3d of November, 1760.

George II., king of England, expired during this year. His grandson, George III., the son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, who had preceded his father to the tomb, at first declared in favor of Prussia, and fresh subsidies were voted to her monarch by the English parliament, which at the same time expressed "its deep admiration of his unshaken fortitude and of the inexhaustible resources of his genius." Female influence, however, ere long placed Lord Bute in Pitt's stead at the helm of state, and the subsidies so urgently demanded by Prussia were withdrawn. The duke of Brunswick was, meanwhile, again victorious at Billinghausen over the French, and covered the king on that side. On the other hand, the junction of the Austrians with the Russians was effected in 1761; the allied army amounted in all to one hundred and thirty thousand men, and Frederick's army, solely consisting of fifty thousand, would in all probability have been again annihilated, had he not secured himself behind the fortress of Schweidnitz, in the strong position at Bunzelwitz. Butterlin, the Russian general, was moreover little inclined to come to an engagement on account of the illness of the empress and the favor with which Frederick was beheld by the successor to the throne. It was in vain that Laudon exerted all the powers of eloquence, the Russians remained in a state of inactivity and finally withdrew. Laudon avenged himself by unexpectedly taking Schweidnitz

under the eyes of the king by a clever coup-de-main, and had not a heroic Prussian artilleryman set fire to a powder magazine, observing as he did so, "All of ye shall not get into the town!" and blown himself with an immense number of Austrians into the air, he would have made himself master of this important stronghold almost without losing a man. Frederick retreated upon Breslau.

The empress, Elisabeth, expired in the ensuing year, A.D. 1762, and was succeeded by Peter III., who instantly ranged himself on the side of Prussia. Six months afterward he was assassinated, and his widow seized the reins of government under the title of Catherine II. Frederick was on the eve of giving battle to the Austrians at Reichenbach in Silesia and the Russians under Czernitscheff were under his command when the news arrived of the death of his friend and of the inimical disposition of the new empress, who sent Czernitscheff instant orders to abandon the Prussian banner. Such was, however, Frederick's influence over the Russian general, that he preferred hazarding his head rather than abandon the king at this critical conjecture, and, deferring the publication of the empress's orders for three days, remained quietly within the camp. Frederick meanwhile was not idle, and gained a complete victory over the Austrians, the 21st of July, 1762. The attempt made by a Silesian nobleman, Baron Warkotsch, together with a priest named Schmidt, secretly to carry off the king from his quarters at Strehlen, failed. In the autumn, Frederick besieged and took Schweidnitz. The two most celebrated French engineers put their new theories into practice on this occasion; Lefevre, for the Prussians against the fortress; Griboval, for the Austrians engaged in its defence. Frederick's good fortune was shared by Prince Henry, who defeated the imperial troops at Freiburg in Saxony, and by Ferdinand of Brunswick, who gained several petty advantages over the French, defeating Soubise at Wilhelmsthal and the Saxons on the Lutterbach. The spiritless war on this side was finally terminated during the course of this year, A.D. 1762, by a peace between England

and France.[1] Golz had at the same time instigated the Tartars in Southern Russia to revolt, and was on the point of creating a diversion with fifty thousand of them in Frederick's favor. Frederick, with a view of striking the empire with terror, also despatched General Kleist into Franconia, with a flying corps, which no sooner made its appearance in Nuremberg[2] and Bamberg than the whole of the South was seized with a general panic, Charles, duke of Wurtemberg, for instance, preparing for instant flight from Stuttgard. Sturzebecher, a bold cornet of the Prussian huzzars, accompanied by a trumpeter and by five and twenty men, advanced as far as Rotenburg on the Tauber, where, forcing his way through the city gate, he demanded a contribution of eighty thousand dollars from the town council. The citizens of this town, which had once so heroically opposed the whole of Tilly's forces, were chased by a handful of huzzars into the Bockshorn, and were actually compelled to pay a fine of forty thousand florins, with which the cornet scoffingly withdrew, carrying off with him two of the town-councillors as hostages. So deeply had the citizens of the free towns of the empire at that time degenerated.

Frederick's opponents at length perceived the folly of carrying on war without the remotest prospect of success. The necessary funds were, moreover, wanting. France was weary of sacrificing herself for Austria. Catherine of Russia, who had views upon Poland and Turkey, foresaw that the aid of Prussia would be required in order to keep Austria in check, and both cleverly and quickly entered into an understanding with her late opponent. Austria was, consequently, also compelled to succumb. The rest of the allied powers had no voice in the matter. Peace was concluded at

[1] This campaign was merely a succession of manœuvres and skirmishes, in which Lukner and his huzzars chiefly distinguished themselves against the French, whose service Lukner afterward entered. He had, at an earlier period, headed the Bavarians against Austria.

[2] Nuremberg had never before yielded. Frederick observed on this occasion, "Kleist has snatched the maiden wreath from the gray locks of that ancient virgin."

Hubertsburg, one of the royal Saxon residences, February the 15th, 1763. Frederick retained possession of the whole of his dominions. The machinations of his enemies had not only been completely frustrated, but Prussia had issued from the seven years' war with redoubled strength and glory; she had confirmed her power by her victories, had rendered herself feared and respected, and had raised herself from her station as one of the principal potentates of Germany on a par with the great powers of Europe.

CCXXXVII. *Frederick Sanspareil*

THE Prussian king, who well deserved his sobriquet of Sanspareil, devoted himself, on his return to Sans Souci, to the occupations of peace, in which he might also serve as a model to all other princes. Everything prospered under his fostering care. The confidence inspired by his government attracted numbers of foreigners into the country, where he placed waste lands in a state of cultivation, built numerous villages, made roads and canals, and promoted agriculture and industry. Prussia quickly recovered from the calamities of war, and the royal exchequer and the wealth of the country increased at an equal ratio. Among his economical measures, the monopolies in tobacco and coffee are alone reprehensible.

The cultivation of the potato, against which there existed a popular prejudice, in Prussia and afterward throughout Germany was mainly forwarded by him. The importance of this root as an article of food had been strikingly proved during the seven years' war. In Silesia—where its cultivation had been enforced by Count Schlaberndorf, the Prussian minister—the famine, caused by the failure of the crops in 1770, had been, notwithstanding the immense concourse of poor, felt with far less severity than in the neighboring countries; in Saxony, where one hundred thousand, in Bohemia, where one hundred and eighty thousand men perished of hunger, and whence twenty thousand per-

sons migrated to Prussia, the land of potatoes. The new monopolies or *regie* were more particularly unpopular on account of the persons employed in their administration being brought from France by the king, who thus virtually exposed the brave victors of Rossbach to the chicanery of their conquered foe.

The army next occupied his attention. In the autumn and spring he held great reviews for the sake of practice, and perfect order and discipline were maintained during the whole of his reign. The faults in the internal organization of the army were first discovered after his death. Frederick, although personally a patron of art and a promoter of civilization, greatly depreciated the progress of enlightenment in Germany, nor did he perceive that the bourgeoisie, whom he had, on his accession to the throne, found in a state of ignorance and discouragement, had gradually risen to one of great moral and mental refinement, while the nobility, whom, at least in Prussia, he had found, during his earlier years, simple in their habits and fitted for the duties of their station, had, as gradually, sunk in luxury and become totally incapable of mental exertion. His exclusive nomination of nobles to all the higher posts in the army was at first natural, the peasant recruits being already accustomed, in their native provinces, to the sway of the nobility; but his total exclusion, at a later period, of the whole of the citizen class, was productive of immense evils to his successor. The system of flogging was another abuse. Severe punishments had formerly been found necessary among the infantry on account of the inclination of the homeless mercenary to desert his colors or to plunder; but the infliction of corporeal punishment first became general in the army on the enrolment of the peasant serfs, when the system of flogging, prevalent in the villages, was introduced into the army. This system, consequently, merely prevailed in Prussia and Austria, Slavonian provinces long sunk in the deepest slavery. Other states followed their example, but were unable to carry this system into effect wherever a spark of honor still glowed

in the bosoms of the people.' The retention of the unsuitable military dress introduced by his father, of pigtails, powdered hair, tight breeches, etc., was another of Frederick's caprices.

The simple and strict administration of justice continually occupied the attention of the king. The Codex Frid. formed the basis of the provincial law of Prussia, which was not, however, completed until after his death, by Carmer, A.D. 1794. The injustice enacted in other countries was viewed by him with deep abhorrence, and never was his anger more highly excited than when he imagined that his name had been abused for the purpose of passing an iniquitous judgment. A windmill, not far from Sans Souci, obstructed the view, but the miller threatening to lay a complaint against him in his own court of justice, he chose rather to endure the inconvenience than to resort to violence. Another miller, Arnold, charging a nobleman with having diverted the water from his mill, Frederick, anxious to act with strict justice, sent a confidential officer to the spot to investigate the affair. The officer, either owing to negligence or to some private reason, pronounced in favor of the miller, who was actually in the wrong, and the king instantly deprived three of his chief-justices and a number of the lower officers of the law of their appointments and detained the former for some time in prison. Still, notwithstanding his arbitrary and, on some occasions, cruel decisions, he inspired the law officers with a wholesome fear, and by the commission of one injustice often obviated that of many others. His treatment of Colonel Trenck, an Austrian, whom he detained a close prisoner at Magdeburg for eighteen years, made much noise. This handsome adventurer had secretly carried on an intercourse with the king's sister, had mixed himself up with poli-

[1] Louis XV. attempted to introduce the Prussian military system, and, with it, that of flogging, into the French army, but the soldiers mutinied, shot the subalterns who had ventured to use the cane, and one of the latter, on being ordered to give the lash to one of the privates, instantly ripped up his own belly. This fact is related by Schubart, at that time one of the brightest ornaments of Germany, who concludes with the exclamation, "What a disgrace for Germany!"

tics, devised intrigues, and a barefaced indiscretion had occasioned his long imprisonment, whence he was liberated on Frederick's death.—The manner in which the king answered all the cases and petitions presented to him, by a short marginal note, was extremely characteristic, his remarks and decisions being generally just, but witty, satirical, often cruel, and always badly written, on account of his imperfect knowledge of his mother tongue.

He was equally laconic in conversation and abrupt in manner. With a large three-cornered laced hat on his head, rather stooping shoulders, a threadbare blue uniform with red facings and broad skirts, a long pigtail hanging behind, the front of his waistcoat sprinkled with snuff, which he took in enormous quantities, short black breeches and long boots, his sword buckled to his side and his celebrated crutch-cane in his hand, he inspired all whom he addressed with awe. No one, however, possessed in a higher degree the art of pleasing, whenever he happened to be surrounded by persons of congenial taste and pursuits, or that of acquiring popularity.[1]

Frederick exercised immense influence on the spirit of the times, the general impulse toward enlightenment. The age had indeed need of assistance in its attempts to repel the mists of ignorance and superstition by which it was obscured. The pedantry of the schools had already partially yielded before the attacks of Thomasius, who had been the first to rend asunder the veil and to admit the light, which, under Frederick's administration, now poured freely in on all sides.

[1] Innumerable anecdotes are related of him. During the seven years' war, a Croat aiming at him from behind a bush, he looked sternly at him, shook his cane (which he carried even when on horseback) at him, and the Croat fled.—The people of Potsdam had stuck up a caricature in which he was represented with a coffee-mill in his lap, at the street corner; he saw it as he passed along and told the bystanders to hang it lower down and they would see it with greater convenience.—One of the subalterns of his guard, being too poor to buy a watch, attached a bullet to his chain and wore it in his pocket. This was perceived by the king, who one day purposely asked him what time it was. The officer, unable to evade an exposé, drew forth the bullet, saying as he did so, "My watch points but to one hour, that in which I die for your Majesty." Frederick instantly presented him with his own watch, set in brilliants.

The influence of the French philosophers of the day necessarily preponderated. Fortunately, they were not all as frivolous as Voltaire, and the more fervid enthusiasm of Rousseau, the clear political views of Montesquieu, were far better suited to the gravity of the German. Still, notwithstanding the influence of Frederick the Great, Gallomania did not long characterize our literature. Gottsched at Leipzig attempted its establishment, but it was completely overthrown by Lessing at Wolfenbuttel, and to it succeeded Græcomania and Anglomania, a predilection for the ancient authors of Greece and Rome, first tastefully displayed by Heyne at Göttingen, and for the liberal and manly literature of England, with which a closer acquaintance had been formed since the accession of the house of Hanover to that throne. The patriotic pride of Lessing, the study of the classics and of English literature, served as a guard against French exaggeration, which, nevertheless, exercised but too powerful an influence upon the German character. Voltaire first taught the German to take a hasty and superficial view of religion, and Rousseau first enervated his honest heart by false and sickly sentimentality. During the first stage of his progress toward the enlightenment he so much needed, he was but a contemptible and ridiculous caricature of his French model.

The enlightenment of the past century, about which so much has been said and written, demanded a religion of love and toleration (the demand of the first Pietists, who afterward became noted for intolerance), in the place of the religion of intolerance hitherto inculcated by the church, the equality of all confessions of faith (as established in North America), the conformity of the dogmas of the church with the demands of sound human reason (rationalism), or the total proscription of the dogma in so far as they were incompatible with what it pleased the philosophers of the day to consider natural and reasonable (natural religion, deism). The result of these demands was absolute infidelity, which rejected every religion as equally false and even denied the

existence of a deity (atheism), the adoration of nature and the most extravagant sensuality (materialism).

The beneficent government of humane sovereigns, wise guardians of the people, was demanded instead of the despotism that had hitherto prevailed, and the future happiness of the human race was declared to be the infallible result of this blessed change in the administration. On the separation of the North American colonies from England, their parent country, and their formation into a republic, republican notions began to spread; they were, moreover, greatly fostered by the example of the ancients, whose histories were diligently studied, and by the *contrat social* of Rousseau, which reproduced the ancient German political principle of a constitution based upon the union of free and equal members of society as a new discovery. At first, the general demand was for that best of all republics, the sovereignty of virtue; but, by degrees, the republic became a matter of speculation for vices impatient of the restraint imposed by laws.

The immorality that, like a pestilence, had spread from France and infected the courts and the higher classes in Germany, took shelter beneath the new doctrines of humanism. Open profligacy was, it is true, discouraged, but the weaknesses of the heart, as they were termed, served as an excuse for the infraction of the Catholic vow of celibacy and of the strict moral tenets of the Protestant church. The tears of the sentimentalist atoned for the weakness of the flesh. An incredible increase in the production and study of romances naturally followed. The unprincipled sentimentality of the middle classes was even more pernicious in effect than the open profligacy of the nobility and of the courts. It was owing to this cause alone that Germany, at the outbreak of the French Revolution, at a time that called for energy and for the exertion of every manly virtue, contained so many cowards.

Good and evil advanced hand in hand as enlightenment progressed. Men, confused by the novelty of the ideas pro-

pounded, were at first unable to discern their real value. The transition from ancient to modern times had, however, become necessary, and was greatly facilitated by the tolerance of the great sovereign of Prussia, who, notwithstanding that, by his predilection for French philosophy and his inclination toward rationalism, he at first gave a false bias to the moral development of Germany, greatly accelerated its progress. He gave his subjects full liberty to believe, think, say, write, and publish whatever they deemed proper, extended his protection to those who sought shelter within his territories from the persecution of the priests, and enforced universal toleration. On one occasion alone, one that escaped the observation of the sovereign, did the censor, Justi, dare to suppress a work, the "Letters on Literature," in which his own dull productions were severely criticised. The works, printed in Prussia from 1740 to 1786, offer a convincing proof of the unparalleled liberality of this absolute sovereign. The freedom from restriction greatly favored the progress of German literature, but still more so the personal indifference of the king, which prevented it from becoming servile. How insignificant was Ramler, whom he appointed poet-laureate! how great was Lessing, who never paid court to or was noticed by him!

Frederick was, in his private hours, chiefly surrounded by foreigners: Maupertius, the Marquis d'Argens, Algarotti, Mitchel, the English ambassador, Marshal Keith, a Scotchman, a proscribed partisan of the exiled Stuart, such a noble-hearted man that Frederick said of him, "Le bon Milord me force de croire à la vertu," General Lentulus, and the notorious De la Mettrie.[1] He carried on a frequent cor-

[1] Who wrote openly, "that there is no God, no immortality, that man is intended to follow every natural impulse, that sensual pleasure is his only aim in life, that virtue is a ridiculous dream destructive of enjoyment, and that death is the end of all things." His depraved course of life was consistent with his principles. Frederick, nevertheless, appointed him his lecturer. Mitchel relates that Frederick always spoke of Voltaire as a rogue, although he continued to correspond with him. This taste may, perhaps, be physically accounted for; Zimmermann says that during the latter part of Frederick's life he could not touch a dish without first seasoning it with immense quantities of Cayenne.

respondence with Voltaire[1] and D'Alembert, the latter of whom he appointed president of the Royal Academy of Berlin. Raynal and Rousseau, two of the noblest of the French writers, took refuge within his states, one at Berlin, the other at Neufchâtel, from the persecution to which the freedom of their opinions had exposed them. Frederick was himself an author of no mean talent; in his youth he wrote an "Antimachiavel," in which he recommended to princes a moral policy, never followed by himself, and several poems; at a later period, the "History of his Own Times"; that of the "Seven Years' War"; "Considerations, Financial and Political, on the State of Europe"; "Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg"; besides numerous spirited letters, which were collected after his death.

The fall of the Jesuits was the first great result of the advance of enlightenment. One extreme is ever productive of another. The dissolution of these guardians of ignorance was perhaps alone rendered possible by the existence of an equal degree of exaggeration on the side of their opponents. The policy of the times, moreover, favored the general inclination. The princes greedily grasped at the church property that had escaped the general plunder during the Reformation. In France, Spain, and Portugal, the ancient bulwarks of Catholicism, ministers rose to office who, convinced of the excellence of Frederick's policy, kept pace with their times, and followed as zealously in his footsteps as the German princes formerly had in those of Louis XIV. In Austria, the Archduke Joseph, the eccentric son of Maria Theresa, glowed for a Utopia of liberty and justice, and Kaunitz persuaded the otherwise bigoted empress to pursue the old Ghibelline policy by which the pope was rendered subordinate to the head of the empire. Pope Clement XIV.,

[1] Voltaire compared Frederick with the emperor Julian the Apostate, who abolished Christianity and restored Paganism. He generally concluded his confidential letters with the words "ecrasez l'infame," meaning Christianity. On the 24th of July, 1763, he wrote to D'Alembert that surely five or six men of genius like them could overthrow a religion founded by twelve beggars. He greatly complained of Frederick's want of energy in the cause.

a man of great enlightenment, also filled St. Peter's chair at that time, and hence it happened that the notorious Society of Jesus was solemnly dissolved in all Catholic countries by a papal bull, A.D. 1773. The unfortunate pope was instantly poisoned by the revengeful Jesuits. Frederick, true to his principle of universal toleration[1] and desirous of displaying his independence,[2] permitted them to retain their former footing in Catholic Silesia. On the dissolution of the Society, the most scandalous deeds were brought to light. The attention of the public was taken up with judicial proceedings and satirical writings. A scandalous lawsuit, that of Father Marcellus at Augsburg, for unnatural crimes committed in the school under the control of the Jesuits, the opening of the prisons of the Society at Munich, where twelve skeletons were discovered attached to chains, created the greatest noise. The history of the Society, and the principles on which it was based, were now thoroughly investigated and criticised. It is, however, probable that some of the governments would not have so readily assented to its dissolution but for the extraordinary wealth it possessed. The courts were in want of money, and, on this occasion, made a truly royal booty, of which but a small portion was set aside for educational purposes. The emperor Joseph appears to have had this booty very much in view. His mother, Maria Theresa, who, in 1748, had, in her right as queen of Hungary, assumed the title of Apostolical Majesty, and, in 1752, had driven four thousand Protestants out of Styria, was merely induced to give her consent to the dissolution of the Society on moral grounds. A written document, containing the substance of her confessions to her Jesuit confessor, was sent to her from Madrid, a proof of

[1] He often said, "In my states every one can go his own way to heaven."

[2] The Jesuits were so delighted that they spread a report that the king was on the point of turning Catholic. The ex-Jesuit Demelmaier declared from the pulpit at Straubing that the king's coach-horses had fallen on their knees before the pyx. Shortly afterward, on Frederick's siding with Bavaria against Austria, as Dohm relates, his picture was seen in a Bavarian village at the side of that of a saint, with a lamp beneath it.

perfidy by which she was first convinced of the immorality, according to their statutes, legally practiced by the members of the Society.

At the very time that Germany was delivered from the curse of Jesuitism, the crime, termed by way of distinction the crime of the age, was committed against Poland, and clearly indicates the moral principle by which the statesmen of that time were guided. Virtue was never the object of their policy, but simply a means for the success of some political scheme. "Do not talk to me of magnanimity," said Frederick, "a prince can only study his interest." Poland, like Germany, owed the loss of her unity to her aristocracy; but the Waiwodes and Starosts, instead of founding petty states, like the German dukes and counts, and of allowing the formation of a civic class, became utterly ungovernable, and, too jealous to place the crown on the head of one of their own number, continued, from one generation to another, to elect a foreigner for their king. As long as Poland still maintained a shadow of her ancient dignity, her choice was free and unbiassed and ever fell upon some weak prince, as, for instance, the Elector of Saxony; but, as her internal dissensions became more frequent, she allowed her potent neighbor to impose a sovereign upon her. On the demise of Augustus III., A.D. 1763, Catherine II. of Russia effected the election of one of her numerous paramours, the handsome Stanislaus Poniatowski, a Pole by birth and her servile tool. A foreboding of the dreadful doom awaiting their country was roused by this stroke of Russian policy in the bosom of some patriotic Poles, who confederated for the purpose of dethroning the favorite of the foreign autocrat. Catherine, however, sent one of her armies into the wretched country, which was by her orders, by the orders of the self-termed female philosopher, laid waste with most inhuman barbarity. Cannibals could not have perpetrated more cold-blooded acts of cruelty than the Russians, whom the noble and gallant Pulawski vainly opposed, A.D. 1769. Catherine, fearing lest the Turks might aid the unfortunate Poles,

attacked them also, and victoriously extended her sway to the South.

The whole of the states of Europe, although threatened by the increasing power of Russia, remained inactive. England was occupied with her colonies, France with her mistresses and fetes, Sweden was powerless. Austria and Prussia, the most imminently threatened, might, if united, have easily protected Poland, and have hindered the advance of Russia toward the Black Sea, but they were filled with mutual distrust. In 1769, Frederick II. and Joseph held a remarkable conference at Neisse, in Silesia, when an attempt was made to place German policy on a wider basis. Who could withstand, was it said, a coalition between all the powers of Germany? "I think," said Frederick the Great, "that we Germans have long enough spilled German blood; it is a pity that we cannot come to a better understanding." Joseph lamented the unpatriotic alliance between Austria and France, and even Prince Kaunitz, the propounder of that alliance, declared that the cession of Lorraine to France was a political blunder that never could have taken place had *he* been in office at that period. And yet, in despite of these declarations, the sovereigns came to no understanding; nor was a second conference, held in the ensuing year at Mährisch-Neustadt, notwithstanding the fine protestations reiterated on this occasion, more effective.[1] The want of concord was entirely owing to Frederick's disbelief in the sincerity of Austria. Austria had already bestowed the hand of an archduchess on the king of Poland, and had tendered her aid to the overwhelming Catholic party among the Polish nobility. Had Prussia united with Austria for the rescue of Poland, the influence of Russia would, it is

[1] Frederick, on seeing Laudon, whom he had formerly despised on account of his ugliness, and who had bitterly enough avenged the insult, among Joseph's suite, took him by the arm and placed him next to him at table—"Sit down here, sit down here, I would rather have you at my side than opposite to me." At Neustadt, Frederick is said to have observed to the emperor, while reviewing the assembled troops, "The most extraordinary thing in our interview is that all these thousands should fear us two!"

true, have been weakened, while that of Austria would have been thereby strengthened, without her having gained the slightest advantage. These grounds determined Frederick not only to leave Russia unopposed, but even to make use of her against Austria, and his brother, Henry, whom he sent to St. Petersburg, accordingly, carried on negotiations to this intent. The Austrians, upon this, held a council of war, in which the question, whether it was advisable to declare war with Russia in case Prussia sided against them with Russia, was agitated. The question was negatived, A.D. 1771, and, from this moment, the partition of Poland was determined upon. Austria, no longer desirous of driving the Russians out of Poland, was merely intent upon sharing the booty, and, abandoning her ancient character as the protectress of that ill-fated country, was the first to make the attack by formally taking possession of the Zips, to which she asserted her ancient right, before Russia, notwithstanding her arbitrary rule in Poland, had formally declared the incorporation of the Polish provinces with the Russian empire. Prussia, meanwhile, cleverly made use of the reciprocal jealousy between Russia and Austria to secure her portion of the booty. The three powers bargained with each other for Poland like merchants over a bale of goods, and Russia, the originator of the whole scheme and the first possessor of the country, retained by far the largest share.[1] The negotiations were brought to a close, August 5, 1773; the Austrians and Prussians entered Poland, of which the Russians had already taken possession, and proclaimed her partition, "in the name of the indivisible Trinity," to which Catherine more particularly added, "for the restoration of the prosperity of Poland." Russia seized almost the whole of Lithuania; Austria, Galicia; Prussia, the province of the Lower Vistula, under the name of Western Prussia. The rest of Poland was bestowed upon the wretched king, Stanis-

[1] Gregory Orlow, Catherine's favorite, was of opinion that the Russian ministers, who had concurred in the partition, deserved to be deprived of their heads for not having retained the whole of Poland for his mistress.

laus, under the name of the republic of Poland, on which the laws prescribed by the three powers were imposed, and which was so constituted as to render unity for the future impracticable in Poland and to favor the wildest anarchy. Every noble had the *liberum veto*, that is, the power of annihilating the decisions of the diet by his single vote. With a constitution of this nature, Poland naturally sank ever deeper into the abyss of ruin.

Two voices alone throughout Germany ventured to protest against this political murder. Maria Theresa had in her old age committed the control of foreign affairs to her son Joseph and to Kaunitz, but she no sooner learned the partition of Poland than she thus addressed the latter: "When the whole of my possessions were disputed and I no longer knew where to sit down in peace, I placed my trust in the justice of my cause and in the aid of Heaven. But, in this affair, where injured right not only openly cries for vengeance against us, but in which all justice and sound reason are opposed to us, I must affirm that never throughout the whole course of my existence have I been so pained, and that I am ashamed to be seen. Let the prince reflect what an example we offer to the whole world by hazarding our honor and reputation for the sake of a miserable bit of Poland. I see plainly that I am alone and am no longer *en vigueur*, and I therefore let the matter, though not without the greatest sorrow, take its own course." She signed her name with these words, "*Placet*, as so many and learned men desire it; but when I have been long dead, the consequences of this violation of all that until now has been deemed holy and just will be experienced." The other voice was that of the Swabian, Schubart, who ventured, even at that period, to lament the fate of "Poland pale with woe" in one of his finest poems.

Prussia had, moreover, come off the worst in the partition, the other powers refusing at any price to permit her occupation of Dantzig. The object of this refusal on the part of Russia was to prevent the whole commerce of Poland

from falling into the hands of Prussia. Frederick revenged himself by the seizure of Neufahrwasser, the only navigable entrance into the harbor of Dantzig, and by the imposition of oppressive dues.

CCXXXVIII. *Joseph the Second*

This emperor, who so zealously aided in the annihilation of an innocent nation and thus repaid John Sobieski's noble devotion with most unexampled ingratitude to his descendants, who evinced such utter want of feeling in his foreign policy, was, to the astonishment of the whole world, in his own dominions, the greatest enthusiast for popular liberty and the greatest promoter of national prosperity that ever sat upon a throne. On the death of his father, Francis I., A.D. 1765,[1] he became co-regent with his mother, and, although at first merely intrusted with the war administration, ere long interfered in every state affair, in which he was especially supported by the prime minister, Kaunitz, who, while apparently siding with him against the caprice or too conscientious scruples of his mother, rendered him his tool. The contradiction apparent in Joseph's conduct, the intermixture of so much injustice with his most zealous endeavors to do right, are simply explained by the influence of Kaunitz, who, like an evil spirit, ever attended him.

For the better confirmation of the unnatural alliance be-

[1] Frederick II. writes of this puppet sovereign—"The emperor, not daring to interfere in state matters, amused himself with the transaction of mercantile business. He laid by large sums from his Tuscan revenues in order to speculate in trade. He always retained alchemists in his service engaged in the search for the philosopher's stone, and he attempted by means of burning-glasses to dissolve several small diamonds into one large one. He established manufactures, lent money on mortgages, and undertook to furnish the whole of the imperial army with uniforms, arms, horses, and liveries. In partnership with a certain Count Bolza and a tradesman named Schimmelmann, he farmed the Saxon customs, and, in 1756, even supplied the Prussian army with forage and flour. Although his consort passionately loved him and was a pattern of conjugal tenderness, she bore his ever-recurring infidelities without a murmur. The day before his death, he presented his mistress, the Princess von Auersberg, with a bill for two hundred thousand florins. The validity of a gift of this description was questioned, but Maria Theresa ordered the bill to be duly honored."

tween Austria and France, Maria Antonia (named by the French, Marie Antoinette), Maria Theresa's lovely and accomplished daughter, was wedded, A.D. 1770, to the Dauphin, afterward the unfortunate Louis XVI. She was received at Strasburg by the gay bishop, Cardinal Rohan, with the words, "The union of Bourbon with Habsburg must restore the golden age." Seven hundred and twelve people were crushed to death during the wedding festivities at Paris.

The emperor Joseph, during his mother's lifetime, established beneficial laws, abolished the use of torture, A.D. 1774, and, by the publication of an Urbarium, sought more particularly to improve the condition of the peasantry. The collection of the taxes and the lower jurisdiction were to be undertaken by the state whenever the noble was unable to defray the expenses of the administration, and villages, consisting of more than one hundred and twenty houses, were raised to the importance of country towns and were granted several immunities. The government also entered into negotiation with the nobility on account of the gradually increasing pressure of socage-service. The cautious nobles, however, declared to the empress that they would not voluntarily yield, but would submit were arbitrary measures resorted to. These Maria Theresa refused to adopt, and the Bohemian peasantry, to whom hopes of redress had been held out, rose in open insurrection, which was quelled by force, A.D. 1775. Their leader, Joseph Czerny, and three others were hanged, one in each of the four quarters of the city of Prague.

Joseph was, shortly after this occurrence, again seized with a strong desire to extend his dominions. On the death of Maximilian Joseph, elector of Bavaria, without issue, A.D. 1777, the next heir, the weak and licentious Charles Theodore, of the collateral branch of the Pfalz, evincing a disinclination to Bavaria on account of his predilection for his natural children and for his residence, Mannheim, which he had greatly beautified, Joseph persuaded him to cede Lower Bavaria to Austria. This cession was, however, viewed

with equal displeasure by the next of kin, Charles, duke of Pfalz-Zweibrucken, and by the Bavarians, who still retained their ancient hatred of Austria. Maria Anna, the talented widow of Duke Clement, Charles Theodore's sister-in-law, placed herself at the head of the Bavarians, supported by Count Görtz, whom Frederick II., who sought at every hazard to prevent the aggrandizement of Austria, had sent to her aid. The opposing armies took the field, but no decisive engagement was fought, and this war was jestingly termed the potato war, the soldiers being chiefly engaged in devouring potatoes within the camps. Frederick the Great said that the war had brought him more hay than laurels, as it almost entirely consisted in foraging excursions. Ferdinand, the hereditary prince of Brunswick, maintained himself in a strong position at Troppau. Wurmser, the imperial general, surprised the enemy at Habelschwert and gained a trifling advantage. Neither side was in earnest; Frederick was old and sickly—Maria Theresa so timid that she secretly negotiated with Frederick behind her son's back by means of Baron Thugut, who had formerly been an orphan lad. France was in a state of indecision. Austria is said to have promised to cede to her a part of the Pfalz, which Louis XVI., on the contrary, aided with a subsidy; but however that may be, France did not come openly forward. Russia, on the other hand, threatened Austria, who at length consented, by the treaty concluded at Teschen, A.D. 1779, to accept the province of the Inn and to relinquish the rest of Bavaria.

Maria Theresa expired A.D. 1780.[1] Joseph II. no sooner became sole sovereign than he began a multitude of reforms.

[1] She was remarkably beautiful in her youth, but later in life became extremely corpulent and was disfigured by the smallpox. She retained her liveliness of disposition to the last. With the same spirit as when at Frankfort, beaming with delight, she stepped upon the balcony and was the first to cry "Vivat" at the moment of the coronation of her husband, did she in the Burg theatre at Vienna, on receiving the news of the birth of her first grandson, afterward the emperor Francis II., rise from her seat and call out joyfully, in the Viennese dialect, to the parterre, "der Leopold hot an Buabn!" "Leopold has a boy!"

With headlong enthusiasm, he at once attempted to uproot every ancient abuse and to force upon his subjects liberty and enlightenment, for which they were totally unfitted. Regardless of the power of hereditary prejudice, he arbitrarily upset every existing institution, in the conviction of promoting the real welfare of his subjects. His principal attack was directed against the hierarchy. On the assassination of the unfortunate pope, Clement VII., by the Jesuits, Pius VI., a handsome and rather weak-headed man, well fitted for performing a part in church exhibitions, and a tool of the ex-Jesuits, was placed on the pontifical throne. Joseph was by chance at Rome during his election, on which he exercised no influence, although the Romans enthusiastically greeted him as their emperor, A.D. 1774. Pius instantly checked every attempt at reform, evinced great zeal in holding church festivals, processions, and other spectacles, in which he could show off his handsome person, and did his utmost to displease the emperor. He even recognized Frederick the Great as king of Prussia, on account of the protection accorded by him to the Jesuits. Joseph, however, treated him with contempt, and openly showed his independence of the pontifical chair by declaring the papal bull invalid throughout his states unless warranted by the *placet regium*. He completely abolished the begging orders and closed six hundred and twenty-four monasteries; he also placed the more ancient monastic orders under the superintendence of the bishops, and finally published an edict of toleration, by which the free exercise of religion was granted to all,[1] except to the Deists (who believed in one God according to rational ideas, not according to revelation), whom he condemned to receive five-and-twenty strokes, the number sacred to the

[1] In the Styrian mountains, whole villages suddenly confessed the Lutheran faith they had for a century past professed in secret. In 1793, there were no fewer than twenty-two thousand Protestants in Carinthia. Many of the communes at first suspected the edict of toleration of being another crafty method of ensnaring them, by encouraging them to confess their real faith for the purpose of destroying them, and it was not without difficulty that they became convinced of the emperor's sincerity.—*Travels Into the Interior of Germany*, 1798.

Austrian bastinado. He also emancipated the Jews. The German hymns of the ex-Jesuit, Denis, were introduced into the Catholic churches. Hieronymus, archbishop of Salzburg, and the bishops of Laibach and Königsgrætz supported the emperor; but Cardinal Migazzi,[1] archbishop of Vienna, and Cardinal Bathyany, archbishop of Gran, ranged themselves beneath the papal banner. Pius VI., terrified at these numerous innovations, crossed the Alps in person to Vienna, A.D. 1782, for the purpose of moderating the emperor's zeal. His path was lined with thousands, who on their knees received his blessing. He was, nevertheless, rendered bitterly sensible of the inopportunity of his visit by the emperor and by Kaunitz. The emperor did not honor the great mass performed by him with his presence. No one was allowed to speak with him without special permission from the emperor, and, in order to guard against secret visits, every entrance to his dwelling was walled up, with the exception of one which was strictly watched. Whenever the pope attempted to discuss business matters with the emperor, the latter declared that he understood nothing about them, must first consult his council, and requested that the affair might be conducted in writing. Kaunitz, instead of kissing the hand extended to him by the pope, shook it heartily; he also neglected to visit him, and, on the pope's paying him a visit under pretext of seeing his pictures, received him in a light robe-de-chambre. The pope, after spending four weeks without effecting anything, at length found himself constrained to depart. The emperor accompanied him as far as Mariabronn, and two hours afterward ordered that monastery to be closed in order to show how little the pope had influenced him.

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[1] Joseph's want of tact was never more truly displayed than in his treatment of Migazzi. The Jansenist priest, Blaarer, of Brünn, becoming an object of his persecution, Joseph summoned Blaarer to Vienna and made him superintendent of the seminary of priests, a post hitherto held by Migazzi. On the arrival of the pope at Vienna, Migazzi was compelled to quit the city and to pay two thousand seven hundred florins to a house of correction for having carried on an illegal correspondence with him.

The people and the clergy were, however, dazzled by the appearance of the holy father, and Joseph, fearful of irritating them too greatly, in reality put a transient stop to his reforms. The pope passed through Munich, where he was received with every demonstration of respect by Charles Theodore, and by Augsburg[1] through the Tyrol, where a monument on the highroad near Innsbruck tells to this day of the enthusiasm with which his presence inspired the mountaineers. On his return to Rome, A.D. 1783, he was reproached for having made so many concessions, and was persuaded to refuse his recognition of the archbishop of Milan nominated by Joseph. The emperor was, in return, unsparing of his threats, and unexpectedly appeared at Rome in person, A.D. 1783. The archbishop of Milan was confirmed in his dignity, and the Roman populace evinced the greatest enthusiasm for Joseph, in whose honor the cry, "Evviva nostro imperatore!" continually resounded in the streets.

The pope, nevertheless, recovered from his terror, and created a new nunciature for Munich as a bulwark of the hierarchy in Germany, upon which Joseph deprived the nuncios of all the privileges they had hitherto enjoyed, which he bestowed upon the provincial bishops, more particularly upon those of Germany, whom he sought by these means to place in opposition to the bishop of Rome. In effect, Mayence, Treves, Cologne, and Salzburg held a congress, A.D. 1785, at the bath of Ems, and declared in favor of the emperor's principles. Frederick II. (Prussia and the ex-Jesuits were at that time in close alliance), however, encouraged the pope, through his agent, Ciofani, at Rome, to make a vigorous opposition. John Müller, the Swiss historian, also turned his cheaply-bribed pen against the reforms attempted by Joseph, whom he libels as a despot, and whose

[1] He wrote triumphantly to the cardinals that he had dispensed his blessing to countless thousands from the windows of the same house whence *teterrima illa Augustana confessio* had been first proclaimed.—*Acta Hist. Eccl. nostri Temp.*

good intentions he cunningly veils. The most violent opposition was that raised in Austria. In the more distant provinces, the clergy accused him of attempting the overthrow of Christianity. In Lemberg, a monk plotted against his life: Joseph had him imprisoned in a madhouse. In Innsbruck, a popular disturbance took place on account of an alteration being made in one of the church altars, the priests having spread a report of the emperor's intention to destroy all altars. At Villach, a figure, intended to represent Dr. Luther, was carried about on a wheelbarrow and cast into the Danube. In several places, the Protestants were ill-treated. Freedom of the press being granted by Joseph, the most violent and abusive charges against him were published by the clergy and publicly sold by Wucherer, the Viennese bookseller, who made a large profit by them. Joseph's enemies were, however, less injurious to him than his false friends, who incessantly loaded him with praise and spread the most unchristian, atheistical, and immoral ideas; Blumauer, for instance, who wrote in imitation of Voltaire, and whose impudent and shallow works found a great sale. In many places, this party ventured to treat church ceremonies with open ridicule, and Joseph was repeatedly compelled to protest against the misinterpretation of the edict of toleration and the unbounded license, by which means, as Dohm well observes, he was no longer beheld with awe by the one party or with confidence by the other.

Notwithstanding the congress of Ems, he was opposed not only by the Austrian clergy, but also by that of the empire, on which he had, moreover, made a violent attack, by separating all the portions of the bishoprics of Passau, Coire, Constance, and Liege, lying within his hereditary states, and placing them within the jurisdiction of the bishoprics within his territories. Olmütz was erected into an archbishopric; Brünn was formed into a new diocese.

Joseph's reforms extended to the state as well as to the church, and everywhere met with the same opposition. His attempt to give unity to the state, to establish uniform laws

and a uniform administration,[1] was contravened by the diverse nationalities and by the difference in the state of civilization of the various nations beneath his rule. His attempt to confer the boon of liberty on the lower class, to humble the unrestricted power of the nobility, to establish equality before the law and an equal taxation, was opposed not only by the hitherto privileged classes, but also by the peasantry, who either ignorantly misunderstood his intention, or were purposely misled in order to check the progress of his reforms by excesses, as was, for instance, the case among the Wallachian population of Transylvania, where a certain Horja, who gave himself out for a plenipotentiary of the emperor, excited the peasantry to revolt against the nobility, assassinated one hundred and twenty nobles, destroyed two hundred and sixty-four castles, and the emperor was finally compelled to put him down by force. He and his colleague Kloczka were condemned to the wheel, and two thousand of the Wallachian prisoners were compelled to behold their execution; one hundred and fifty were, according to the custom of their country, impaled alive. And yet Joseph's clemency had been so great as to inspire him with a desire to abolish the punishment of death. Thus did his subjects deceive his belief in their capability of improvement. The nobility were rendered his mortal enemies by the condemnation of Colonel Szekuly to exposure in the pillory for swindling, and by that of Prince Podstatsky-Lichtenstein, for forging bank-notes, to sweep the public streets. Among other offences against the nobility was that of throwing open to the public the great Prater, which had hitherto been the exclusive resort of the court and nobility. The higher nobility, protesting against this innovation, received the following characteristic reply from the emperor: "Were I only to associate with my equals

[1] He simplified it first of all in Vienna, by the abolition of the abuses introduced by the multiplicity of writing in all the public and government offices. In Moser's Patriot. Archiv. the Viennese snail's pace before the time of Joseph II. is fully described; a petition or an account had to pass, in the course of being copied, registered, answered, signed etc., through no fewer than eighty-five hands.

I should be compelled to descend into my family vault and to spend my days amid the dust of my ancestors." The nobility were also deeply wounded by the law empowering natural children to inherit the property of their unmarried fathers, which had been established by Joseph as a protection to the daughters of the citizens against their seductive artifices. He also ennobled a number of meritorious citizens and even created Fries, the manufacturer, who had greatly distinguished himself by his commercial enterprise and patriotism, count.

In 1785, he was, for a third time, led by his fixed idea for the extension of his domains, so little consistent with his character, so noted for humanity in all other respects, to renew negotiations with Charles Theodore for the possession of Bavaria. A German confederacy, set on foot by Frederick II., however, set a limit to his pretensions; and, in his displeasure at this frustration of his plans, he was induced by the intriguing Russian empress to join her in the conquest of the East. A personal interview took place between the two powers at Cherson.[1] The partition of Turkey, like that of Poland, formed the subject of their deliberations. A diversion made to their rear by Gustavus III. of Sweden, however, compelled Catherine to recall the greater portion of her troops. Russia, since the days of Peter the Great, had been a field of speculation for Germans, who, to the extreme detriment of their native country, increased the power of Russia by filling the highest civil and military posts. A Prince Charles of Nassau-Siegen, who served at this period as Russian admiral, was shamefully defeated by the Swedes, lost fifty-five ships and twelve thousand men, and was forced to fly for his life in a little boat. The Turkish campaign was, owing to these disadvantageous circumstances, far from bril-

[1] He had, in 1780, visited her at St. Petersburg and had treated her so flatteringly, that, on his offering to kiss her hand, she threw her arms round his neck. She travelled in the same carriage with him to Smolensk. Her coachman boasted, on this occasion, of driving two powers, for whom the whole universe was not wide enough, in such a narrow space.

liant. The Russians merely took Oczakow by storm and fixed themselves, as the Austrians should have done in their stead, close to the mouths of the Danube. Joseph was even less successful. The extreme heat of the summer of 1788 produced a pestilence, which carried off thirty-three thousand Austrians. The bad inclination generated among the lower class by the nobility and clergy had crept into the army. At Caransebes, the troops were seized with a sudden panic and took to flight, carrying the emperor along with them, without an enemy being in sight. The Turks, commanded by French officers, were several times victorious. Sick and chagrined, the emperor returned to Vienna, and it was not until the ensuing year that the honor of the imperial arms was restored by Laudon (who had fallen into neglect), aided by the Duke of Coburg and General Clairfait. He retook Belgrade, but his further progress was checked by the negotiation of peace. Hungary was in a state of disturbance, the Netherlands in revolt, the emperor ill, and peace with foreign powers indispensable.

The nobility and clergy triumphed, and harassed the unfortunate emperor—who had returned from the Turkish campaign suffering from an illness from which he never recovered—completely to death. Irritated by their opposition and by their strong position in the Hungarian diet, he dissolved that assembly, carried the sacred crown of Hungary to Vienna, abolished all the privileges of that country, and placed the Magyars on a level with his German subjects. The people were too dull of comprehension to perceive the advantage they thereby gained, or were deceived by the nobility and clergy, who described the emperor as a heretic, and declaimed against the violation of popular rights while skilfully concealing the interests of their order beneath the mask of the national pride of Hungary. The chief points most sturdily opposed by the nobility were the liability, hitherto unknown, of their order to taxation and the alleviation of the burdens borne by the *misera contribuens plebs*, as the Hungarian serfs were officially termed.

The Netherlands were in a still more violent state of fermentation. Joseph, confiding in his alliance with France, which he had, at an earlier period, visited [1] for the purpose of seeing his sister Marie Antoinette, compelled the Dutch, A.D. 1781, to annul the barrier-treaty and to withdraw their garrisons from the fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands. The occupation of the fortresses of a powerful emperor by the Dutch, who, moreover, kept them in a bad state of repair, was certainly wholly unfitting, but they were equally neglected by Joseph, who caused almost the whole of them to be razed to the ground as no longer necessary for the defence of the frontier against France. He then demanded from Holland the opening of the Scheldt. His demand was by no means unjust; by what right do the Dutch close the mouths of the rivers of Germany? Joseph, however, contented himself with threats and with sending down the river two ships, upon which the Dutch fired.[2] War was, never-

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[1] The extreme splendor of the French court struck him with astonishment and he earnestly warned his sister of the result. His simple attire as, under the incognito of Count Falkenstein, he visited the public buildings, etc., and mingled with the people, attracted universal admiration. He was praised at the expense of his corpulent and thick-skulled brother-in-law, Louis XVI :

A nos yeux étonnés de sa simplicité
Falkenstein a montré la majesté sans faste.
Chez nous, par un honteux contraste
Qu' a-t-il trouvé? du faste sans majesté.

Joseph visited several distinguished men during his stay in Paris, among others, Buffon, the great naturalist, to whom he said, "I beg you will give me the copy of your work forgotten by my brother." His brother, Maximilian of Cologne, had rudely refused a copy offered to him by Buffon, with the remark, "I will not rob you of it." The emperor also mounted to Rousseau's wretched garret, where he found him occupied in copying notes, for he was no longer the lion of the day. On his return to his dominions, he neglected, when at Geneva, to visit Voltaire, whose immorality he detested. The philosopher was mortally wounded by this proof of disrespect. Joseph, on the other hand, did not fail to honor Albert von Haller, the eminent poet and physician, with a visit on his route through Berne. Von Erlach, the highborn mayor of Berne, also awaited his arrival in his castle with planted cannon and a great display of magnificence, and had himself announced under the title of Count; Joseph, however, merely sent him his verbal excuses, "that he was too dusty from travelling to visit such a fine gentleman." A good lesson for the republicans!

[2] Kaunitz had vainly attempted to dissuade the emperor from this scheme and had always said, "They will fire upon them," which Joseph refused to believe. The event had no sooner answered Kaunitz's expectation than he

theless, averted by a gift of nine million florins from the Dutch to the emperor, whose conduct on this occasion was construed as a sign of weakness by the Austrian Netherlands, where the powerful and influential clergy seized every opportunity to raise enemies against him. When, in 1786, Joseph abolished the ecclesiastical schools as dens of the grossest darkness and ordered a great universal seminary for fifteen hundred scholars to be founded on entirely modern principles, a popular tumult, which was only put down by the military, ensued. The fermentation, however, continued. During the war with Turkey, Joseph allowed the affairs in the Netherlands to take their own course, but, in 1789, commenced acting with great energy, and General d'Alton was compelled to have recourse to force and to dissolve the Estates. The civil governor, Count Trautmannsdorf, a man of great weakness of character, in the hope of winning over the people by kindness, relaxed the reins of government, rendered it contemptible, and frustrated every measure taken by d'Alton. The opposition instantly regained courage. Van der Noot, a lawyer of deep cunning, had, during his secret visits to The Hague and to Berlin, secured the aid of Holland and Prussia, the latter of which sent General Schönfeld to take the command of the insurgents. Cardinal Frankenberg, archbishop of Malines, a stately political puppet, was placed at the head of the new government constituted at Breda, and the officers and young men, who were already infected with republicanism, were called to arms. D'Alton, unable to maintain Brussels, laid down the command. Ghent was taken by stratagem. The insurgents, disguising themselves in the uniforms belonging to an Austrian regiment which had been dispersed and partly

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informed the emperor of the fact in a laconic note, merely containing the words "They *have* fired." This oft-related anecdote is not so much to the point as the information given by Sinclair (the first political economist, who visited the emperor in 1786), concerning Joseph's displeasure against England. The English, offended at the impolitic alliance between Austria and France, were unsparing in their attacks upon the emperor both in parliament and by the press, and undeniably encouraged the Dutch to fire upon the imperial ships.

taken prisoner, marched to Ghent, were allowed to enter by the deceived garrison, and took the city. The Austrians under General Bender alone retained possession of Luxemburg. On the 11th of January, 1790, the whole of the Netherlands, under the name of "United Belgium," declared itself independent. A dispute, however, arose among the victors. The hierarchical faction, to which Van der Noot belonged, attacked the weaker democratical party, the Vonckists, so called from its principal leader, Vonck, which had countenanced the insurrection in the hope of the establishment of a republic; they were, moreover, followers of the modern French philosophers and the avowed enemies of the priesthood. Their houses were plundered; their general, Mersch, a devoted partisan of the democratical cause, was divested of the command; several persons were cruelly murdered; one, for instance, who mocked a procession, had his head sawn off.[1] Joseph's unpopularity in the Netherlands was chiefly occasioned by his offer to cede them to Bavaria. How could his zeal for the welfare of his subjects find credence when he attempted to sell them to another sovereign?

About the same time, the Hungarian nobility assumed such a threatening attitude, and found means to rouse the people to such a pitch of excitement, that Joseph was compelled to revoke the whole of his ordinances for the welfare of Hungary. On hearing that even the peasantry, on whom he had attempted to bestow such immense benefits, had risen against him, he exclaimed, "I shall die, I must be made of wood if this does not kill me!" and three weeks afterward he expired, after revoking his most important reforms for the sake of avoiding the necessity of having recourse to extreme measures. He died at Vienna on February 20, 1790, as Jellenz observed, "a century too early," and as Remer

[1] In the insurgent army, a Capuchin was to be seen wearing a high black cap to which an enormous cockade was attached; in his hands he carried a sabre and a crucifix; in his yellow girdle, pistols, a knife and a rosary; his gown was sewn up between his legs, which were stuck bare into short boots.

said, "mistaken by a people unworthy of such a sovereign."

Joseph II. (*der Andre*) was handsome in his person; his eyes were blue and expressive, hence the saying "Imperial blue," in order to denote that color in the eye. Frederick the Great thus spoke of him in a letter to Voltaire, "Educated amid bigotry, he is free from superstition; habituated to pomp, his habits are simple; grown up amid flattery, he is still modest."

His bronze statue at Vienna bears the following just inscription: "Josepho Secundo, qui saluti publicæ vixit non diu sed totus." Shortly before his death, he wrote, "Although there have formerly been Neros and a Dionysius, although there have been tyrants who abused the power delivered to them by fate, is it on that account just, under pretence of guarding a nation's rights for the future, to place every imaginable obstacle in the way of a prince, the measures of whose government solely aim at the welfare of his subjects? I know my own heart; I am convinced of the sincerity of my intentions, of the uprightness of my motives, and I trust that when I shall no longer exist, posterity will judge more justly and more impartially of my exertions for the welfare of my people."

His brother and successor, Leopold III., whose government of Tuscany offered a model to princes, made every concession to the nobility and clergy, in order to conciliate his subjects, and restored the ancient régime throughout Austria. The whole of the monasteries were not, however, reopened; in Bohemia, bondage was not reinforced; and the Lutherans and Reformers were also tolerated. All the other privileges of the nobility and clergy were restored. Tuscany fell to Ferdinand, Leopold's second son. The Dutch were granted an amnesty and the full enjoyment of their ancient privileges, but they had already become habituated to the independence they had asserted and refused to submit. General Schonfeld, the leader placed at the head of the insurgents by Prussia, at first maintained a haughty demeanor,

but, on the reconciliation of Austria with Prussia at the congress of Reichenbach, he appears to have acted under contrary orders and to have made use of his position to ruin the cause he pretended to uphold. Avoiding an engagement, he marched up and down the country until the imperialists were reinforced, when he retreated and threw up the command. General Kohler, who was appointed to replace him, fled to Brussels, where his troops, assisted by the populace, stormed the house of assembly, plundered the arsenal and magazines and decamped, leaving the Austrians to enter the country unopposed.

CCXXXIX. *Frederick William the Second*

"Old Fritz," as the Prussians named their great monarch, had expired, A.D. 1786. He retained his faculties to the last; his eccentricities had, however, increased, and, in his contempt for the whole human race, he expressed a wish to be buried among his favorite greyhounds.

His nephew, Frederick William II., was an additional proof of the little resemblance existing between the different monarchs of Prussia. He left the machine of government, arranged by his uncle, unaltered, but intrusted its management to weak and incompetent ministers, who encouraged his fondness for the sex, his inclination to bigotry, and his belief in apparitions. Frederick's faithful servant, Herzberg, the aged minister, was removed from office and replaced by Wollner, a wretched charlatan, who strengthened the king's belief in ghosts by means of optical glasses; by General Bischofswerder, a priestly slave, who opposed toleration; by Luchesini and Lombard, weak diplomatists, who unnerved the policy of Prussia; by their want of decision, their impolitic want of faith; and by the two mistresses of the king, Madame Rietz, created Countess Lichtenau, and the Fräulein von Voss, created Countess Ingenheim. These favorites were utterly devoid of talent and merely rendered the business of state a mass of inextricable confusion. Docu-

ments and letters of the utmost importance lay carelessly scattered over the royal apartments, to which women, pages, sycophants of every description had free ingress. The highest offices of state were bestowed by favor; the royal treasury, containing seventy millions, was so lavishly scattered as to be speedily replaced by an equal amount of debt. The order of merit, with which Frederick had decorated merely seventy of the heroes of the seven years' war, was now showered indifferently upon the lounging courtiers. The crown lands, the object of the late king's care, were given away or made use of as a means of ennobling a number of most unworthy personages. Complaisant lackeys, chambermaids' favorites, expert rogues, ready to lend their services on all occasions, were placed on an equality with the ancient nobility. These newly-dubbed nobles were mockingly termed the freshly-baked or the six-and-eighty. Mirabeau, who was at that time French agent at Berlin, wrote the following laconic account of the new Prussian court: "A decreased revenue, an increased expenditure, genius neglected, fools at the helm. Never was a government nearer ruin. I am returning to Paris, for I will no longer be condemned to act the part of a beast and crawl through the dirty, crooked paths of a government which daily gives fresh proof of its ignorance and servility."

The king, notwithstanding these defects, was not devoid of military ambition, and an opportunity for its display was not long wanting. Like Joseph, he was tempted to the attack by the weakness of Holland. William IV., the first hereditary stadtholder, expired A.D. 1751. Louis Ernest, duke of Brunswick, whose hauteur rendered him highly unpopular, reigned for some time in the name of the youthful heir, William V. The ancient spirit of the people had insensibly decayed. The great wealth of the inhabitants had engendered habits of luxury. In the East Indian colonies, the governor, Valckenier, gained an evil fame by the cold-blooded murder of twelve thousand Chinese, who had ventured to complain of his tyrannical conduct. On the

conquest of Bengal, A.D. 1757, by the English, the expulsion of the Dutch from the Indian continent was planned, but the first outbreak of the war was occasioned in 1780, by the public sale in Holland of English ships captured by North American privateers. A small Dutch fleet and a number of Dutch merchantmen were seized by the English. The weakness of the navy was, with great justice, laid to the charge of the duke of Brunswick, who had neglected it in order to set the army on a better footing, and he was compelled to resign his authority. The Dutch, nevertheless, twice succeeded in repulsing the English fleet on the Doggersbank and on its way to the Sound; but they suffered terrible losses in the colonies. They were also abandoned by France and Russia, the chief authors of the war, and were finally compelled, by the peace of Versailles, A.D. 1783, to cede Negapatam, their principal settlement on the Indian continent, several African colonies, and even their ancient maritime privilege, which protected the cargo beneath their flag. This ill-starred peace increased the unpopularity of the hereditary stadtholder, who was completely ruled by the duke of Brunswick. His open attempts to usurp monarchical power, in which he was encouraged by his consort, Wilhelmina, the sister of Frederick William II., by Count Gœrtz, the Prussian ambassador, and by Harris, the malicious English envoy, added to the popular exasperation, and the storm, which the French had also greatly fomented, at length burst forth.[1] On the 4th of September, 1786, Gyzelaar of Dordrecht declared in the states-general that all the evil that had befallen the republic took its rise in the bosom of the first servant of the state, the hereditary stadtholder. These words were a signal for revolt. The armed burgher guard dissolved the councils, all of which favored the house of Orange, at Utrecht,

[1] Sinclair, the celebrated Scotch political economist, who was at that time travelling through Holland, expressed himself strongly against the intrigues of France. Dutchmen were bribed with money previously borrowed from their countrymen; the house of the French ambassador was a temple of Venus, to whom virtue was sacrificed; abusive and immoral pamphlets found a large sale. —*Sinclair's Life.*

Amsterdam, Rotterdam, etc. The province of Holland first declared the deposition of the stadtholder, who took refuge in the fortress of Nimwegen and supplicated aid from Prussia. Frederick William hesitated and was at first unwilling to have recourse to violence, upon which Wilhelmina, the consort of the stadtholder, quitted Nimwegen, and, as Gœrtz in his Memoirs says, "took the bold but well-planned step" of returning to Holland solely for the purpose of allowing herself to be insulted by the rebels in order to rouse the vengeance of her brother. The Princess was, in fact, stopped on the frontier and treated with little reverence by the citizen soldiery;[1] she was, however, restored to liberty. This insult offered to a Prussian princess decided the king, and he sent Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick (the same who had distinguished himself when hereditary prince in the seven years' war, and again in 1778, by his gallantry in the camp of Troppau, and who now held the appointment of generalissimo of the Prussian forces), with an army into Holland, which he speedily, and almost without opposition, reduced to submission. Count Salm, who had been charged with the defence of Utrecht, secretly withdrew. The reaction was complete, and, A.D. 1787, all the patriots or anti-Orangemen were deprived of their offices.

Prussia was, in her foreign policy, peculiarly inimical to Joseph II. Besides supporting the Dutch insurgents, she instigated the Hungarians to rebellion and even concluded an alliance with Turkey, which compelled Joseph's successor, the emperor Leopold, by the peace of Szistowa, A.D. 1791, to restore Belgrade to the Porte.—The revolt of the people of Liege, A.D. 1789, against their bishop, Constantine Francis, also gave Prussia an opportunity to throw a garrison into that city under pretext of aiding the really oppressed citizens, but, in reality, on account of the inclination of the bishop to favor Austria. When, not long after this, Prussia

[1] The officer, by whom she had been arrested, refused to quit her room and regaled himself with beer and tobacco in her presence.—*Jacobi, History of the Disturbances in the Netherlands.*

united with Austria against France, the restoration of the bishop was quietly tolerated.

Frederick William II., although misled by Wöllner and Bischofswerder to publish, A.D. 1788, edicts' of censure and religious ordinances contrary to the spirit of the times and threatening to impede the progress of enlightenment, abstained from enforcing them, and the French philosophy, patronized by Frederick II., continued to predominate under the auspices of the duke of Brunswick, the grand-master of the Masonic lodges in Germany.

The secret society of Freemasons had in the commencement of this century spread from England over Germany and greatly promoted the progress of civilization. In England, the ancient corporation of stonemasons had insensibly been converted into a loyal club, which no longer practiced architecture, but retained its symbols and elected a prince of the blood-royal as its president. After the execution of Charles I., Ramsey, preceptor to the children of Charles II., during his exile made use of the Scottish Masons in order to pave the way for the restoration of the Stuarts. Hiram, the builder of the Temple of Solomon, under whose mystical name the Saviour, the builder of the Christian church, was generally understood, was now supposed to represent Charles I., and was honored as the "murdered master." The Jesuits played a principal part in this Scottish Masonry and transferred much that was jesuitical to Masonry (Freemasonry or the royal art). On the second fall of the Stuarts, the new Hanoverian dynasty established an English Protestant lodge in opposition to that of Scotland and gave it, as its principal symbol, the letter G (George) in a sun. Freemasonry now rapidly spread among the Protestants, gained a footing, in 1733, in Hamburg, in 1740, in Berlin, and ere

[1] In Berlin, Schulz, known as the pigtail minister, was deprived of his office for venturing to exchange the stately ecclesiastical peruke for a fashionable queue and for preaching Rationalism instead of Christianity. The edicts were brutal in their denunciations, nor was the horror they inspired diminished by the knowledge that the religious and moral regulations contained in them proceeded from the lackeys of a Lichtenau.

long became the centre of civilization in its nobler and moral sense. Frederick II. favored the society and became a member. The aim of this society was the erection of the invisible temple of humanity, and its allegorical symbols, the trowel, the square, the leather apron, were borrowed from the tools used in common masonry. The object, promised but never attained by the church, the conferment of happiness on the human race by the practice of virtue and by fraternity, by the demolition of all the barriers that had hitherto separated nations, classes, and sects, was that for which this society labored. In Germany, Freemasonry had ever a moral purpose. It was only in France that it became matter for speculation and vanity, and it was merely owing to the rage for imitating every French folly that French Freemasonry, with its theatrical terrors, its higher degrees sold to the credulous for solid gold, and its new rites of the self-denominated Templars,[1] intended as a bait to the nobility, gained a footing in Germany. Adventurers of every description practiced upon the credulity of the rich and noble and defrauded them of their gold. The Sicilian, Cagliostro, was the prince of impostors.

The society of Freemasons was prohibited by the Catholic states of Southern Germany, where another secret society of a far more dangerous character was, however, formed. In the Protestant countries, the advance of civilization had been gradual, the seed had slowly ripened in the fostering bosom of futurity. But, in Bavaria, but one step was made from the ridiculous stories of Father Kochem to the infidelity of Voltaire, and the rising generation, emancipating itself from the yoke of the Jesuits, instantly fell into the opposite extreme and attempted to annihilate by force not merely the church but every positive religion. It was in this spirit that Professor Weishaupt founded, at Ingolstadt, A.D. 1776, the order of the Illuminati, to which he gave the old Jesuitical

[1] Freemasonry was alleged to have been first practiced by the ancient Templars.

constitution, that is, the initiated took the oath of unconditional obedience to their secret superiors. This fanatical conspiracy against religion no sooner became known to the numerous free-thinkers of Northern Germany than they sedulously endeavored to enter into connection with it, and, by the intervention of the notorious Baron von Knigge, a Hanoverian adventurer noted for talent and depravity, the Illuminati became connected with the Freemasons, and, by means of Nicolai, the Berlin bookseller, the editor of the Universal German Library, they had a public organ at once bold and wary. The Illuminati were, notwithstanding, decidedly antipathetical to the great majority of Freemasons in Northern Germany. Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick, in his quality as grand-master, convoked all the German Freemasons to a great congress at Wilhelmsbad near Hanau, A.D. 1782, by which the contradictions that had hitherto appeared in eclectic Freemasonry, as it was termed, were as far as possible removed. In the ensuing year, the great lodge of the Three Globes at Berlin discovered far greater energy by declaring every person who attempted to degrade Freemasonry to a society inimical to Christianity incapable of becoming or of remaining a member. The society of the Illuminati in Bavaria was, two years later, discovered and strictly persecuted, A.D. 1785. Weishaupt fled to Gotha, where he was protected by the duke, Louis Ernest. Some of the members were imprisoned, deprived of their offices, etc. This also served as a lesson to the Freemasons, who were thoroughly reformed by the celebrated actor, Schroeder, in Hamburg, and Felzler, formerly a Capuchin, in Berlin, by on the one hand checking the inclination to irreligion, on the other, by banishing display and superstition and by restoring the ancient simple Anglican system, in a word, by regermanizing gallicized Freemasonry.

The society of the Illuminati continued, meanwhile, to exist under the name of the German Union, and, as a proof of its power, the innumerable satires published against Zimmermann in Hanover on his raising its mask, may be ad-

duced. In Mayence, the coadjutor of the archbishopric, von Dalberg, had established an academy, which rivalled those of the Protestants. Here dwelt Forster, the celebrated discoverer, the witty Heinse, John Muller, the Swiss historian, etc., and it was here that Illuminatism took refuge; Dalberg himself took the oaths and entered the society under the name of Crescens. Weishaupt was named Spartacus; Knigge, Philo; Louis Ernest, duke of Gotha, Timoleon; Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick, who had refused entirely to renounce his connection with the Illuminati, Aaron; von dem Busche, Bayard; Bode, Amelius; Nicolai, Lucian, etc. —The society was, however, first essentially raised in importance by its connection with Mirabeau, the talented but unprincipled French agent at Berlin and Brunswick; and Bode, a privy-councillor of the duke of Weimar, Weishaupt's successor, and von dem Busche visited Paris "for the purpose of illuminating France." Philip, duke of Orleans, at that time grand-master of the French lodges, received them with open arms. Their path had already long been smoothed by another German, von Hollbach, a wealthy nobleman of the Pfalz, who had formed a secret society, of which Voltaire was the honorary president and Diderot the most active member, and who dissipated his wealth in order to inundate the world with licentious and atheistical works. He was the author of that scandalous work, "Le Système de la Nature." The deadly hatred with which Philip of Orleans viewed the French king, whose throne he coveted, the condemnation of the revolutionary principles of the secret societies by Frederick the Great and still more strongly by Frederick William II., and, finally, the deep resentment of the Illuminati, on account of their persecution in Bavaria, caused the society to rest its hopes on popular agitation, and, aided by French Freemasonry, it spread the ideas of the liberty and equality of mankind, of the establishment of a universal republic, of the fall of royalty, and of the abolition of Christianity. The favorite saying of the Illuminati was, "The last king ought to be hanged with the entrails of the last priest." These

ideas, unable to take root in Germany, secretly spread and rankled throughout France, the native soil to which they had returned.

CCXL. *German Influence in Scandinavia and Russia*

While Germany was thus a prey to French influence in her western provinces, her native influence had spread toward the east and north. Scandinavia had borrowed from her Lutheranism and fresh royal dynasties. The house of Oldenburg reigned over Sweden and Norway. Under Frederick V., the Hanoverian, John Hartwig Ernest, Count von Bernstorff, became prime minister, A.D. 1750, and bestowed great benefits upon the country. Denmark remained, nevertheless, faithful to her unneighborly policy toward Germany, and took advantage of the confusion that universally prevailed during the seven years' war to extort a million from the citizens of Hamburg. Frederick V. expired A.D. 1766. His son and successor, Christian VII., a being both mentally and physically degraded, the slave of low debauchery and folly, married Caroline Matilda, an English princess, to whose beauty and mental charms he, however, remained totally indifferent. In the hope that travelling might wean him from his gross pursuits, he was persuaded to make a tour through Europe. On the journey, his private physician, a young man named Struensee, the son of a clergyman of Halle in Saxony, succeeded in gaining his confidence. On the return of the king, whose manners had not been improved by his travels, Struensee inoculated the crown prince for the smallpox, and by that means placed himself on a more intimate footing with the queen, who constantly watched by the cradle of her child, and they formed a plan to place the king entirely beneath their influence and to govern in his name. The old ministers, and among them Bernstorff, were removed; the nobility lost their influence at court; Struensee became prime minister, and, in conjunction with his friend Brand, took upon himself the whole weight of the govern-

ment. He concentrated the power of the state, effected the most beneficial reforms, more especially in the financial department, which was in a state of extreme disorder, and released Denmark from the shameful yoke hitherto imposed upon her by the arbitrary Russian ambassador, Philosophow. Russia was not slow in plotting the ruin of the bold German who had thus ventured to withdraw Denmark from her influence. Juliana, the queen-dowager, and her son, Frederick, step-brother to the reigning monarch, were easily gained. The banished councillors, the neglected Danish nobility, and even the officers of the guard, aided in the machinations devised against the queen and Struensee. Struensee, rendered incautious by success, treated the queen with too great familiarity in public, published mandates of the highest importance without the king's signature, and offended the guard by attempting to disband them. The irritated soldiery mutinied; blood was shed, and Struensee gave proof of his weakness by yielding and retaining the guard around the king's person. This success increased the audacity of the conspirators; after a splendid court ball, in the January of 1772, Colonel Köller threw his regiment into the palace, and, on the following morning, astonished Copenhagen learned that a great change in the government had taken place; the king, terrified at the threats of the conspirators, had signed a warrant for the arrest of the queen, Struensee, and Brand, and had been placed in honorable imprisonment under the care of his step-brother, who governed in his name. The queen, Caroline Matilda, was dragged from her bed, and, notwithstanding her violent struggles (she is said to have thrown down the officer who seized her), was cast into prison. Struensee met with similar treatment. He was told that by a confession of having carried on an improper intercourse with the queen he could alone save his life. The queen's enemies required this confession in order to proceed against her. Struensee is said to have been induced through fear of death to make this shameful confession (it was perhaps forged). The queen was now told that the only means of

saving Struensee's life was by a confession of adultery, which is said to have been drawn from her by her compassion for him. She is also said to have fainted when confessing her guilt. That an innocent woman would thus consent to her own dishonor is more than improbable, and the only inference to be drawn from the circumstance is, either that of her guilt or of the imposition of a false confession. Struensee was, in consequence of this confession and of the charge made against him of his former illegal assumption of authority, sentenced to be deprived of his right hand and of his head. Brand suffered the same punishment, A.D. 1772. The queen was separated from her husband and banished to Zelle, where, three years afterward, she died of a broken heart, in her twenty-fourth year, asserting her innocence with her latest breath, A.D. 1775. The king remained, until 1784, under the guardianship of his step-brother, in a half idiotic state, and died at a great age, A.D. 1808. Frederick VI. was his son and successor. Peter Andrew, Bernstorff's nephew, succeeded in rising to the head of the government, in the conduct of which he displayed great talent and merit. He it was who first abolished feudal bondage in Denmark and the slave-trade in the colonies. The cession of Holstein to the Russian line of the house of Oldenburg took place immediately after the catastrophe of 1772.

In Sweden, on the extinction of the house of Wittelsbach in the person of Charles XII., and after the ensuing disputes for the succession, during which Frederick of Hesse for some time wore the crown, Adolphus Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp, a collateral branch of the house of Oldenburg, had mounted the throne, A.D. 1743. The government was, however, entirely in the hands of the nobility, by whom, on the death of Charles XII., the honor of Sweden had been already sold and the conquests had been ceded without a blow, and who, in pursuance of their own petty private interests, were split into a French and Russian faction, the former of which was denominated the Hats, the other the Caps. Gustavus III., Adolphus Frederick's youthful and high-spirited succes-

sor, by a sudden revolution put an end to this wretched aristocratic government and declared himself sole sovereign, A.D. 1771. His first step was the restoration of the ancient glory of Sweden by a declaration of war with Russia for the rule of the Baltic. The war had been carried on at sea with various fortune since 1788, when, in 1792, the king was shot at a masked ball at Stockholm by one Ankarstrom, an accomplice of the nobility, who aided him by surrounding the person of their victim. His brother, Charles, duke of Südermania, undertook the government during the minority of his nephew, Gustavus Adolphus IV.[1] Germany exercised no control over Sweden, which still retained possession of Rugen and Upper Pomerania. Her influence extended far more widely over Russia, where Peter the Great had given his new metropolis, Petersburg, a German name, and whither he had invited great numbers of Germans for the purpose of teaching his wild subjects arts and sciences, military tactics, and navigation. A German, the celebrated girl of Marienburg, whom he raised to his bed and throne, became, on his death in 1725, czarina and autocrat of all the Russias, under the name of Catherine I. She was succeeded by Peter II., the grandson of Peter the Great, the son of the unfortunate Alexis. Alexis was, like his father, subject to violent fits of fury, but was totally unendowed with his intellect. Peter, naturally fearing lest his reforms and regulations might, on his son's elevation to the throne, be choked in the bud, condemned him to lose his head for the good of his country. Alexis had married the Princess Charlotte Christina Sophia of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, whose history might well form a subject for romance. Unable to endure his violence, she gave herself out for dead and secretly escaped to North America, where, on her husband's death, she married Lieutenant D'Auband, a man of great personal merit, with whom she returned to France, his native country, whence she ac-

[1] The best account of this event is to be met with in Arndt's Swedish History.—Leipzig, 1839.

companied him to the Mauritius or Isle de France, where he held an appointment. On his death, she returned to Paris, where she ended her adventurous life at a great age.

Peter II. owed his succession to the throne to the influence of the old Russian party among the nobility, particularly to that of Prince Dolgorouky, by whom the Germans were regarded with feelings of the deepest hostility. He expired A.D. 1730, and, with the consent of Anna and Elisabeth, the two surviving daughters of Peter the Great, one of his nieces was raised to the Russian throne. Ivan, the brother of Peter the Great, had left two daughters, Catherine, married to Charles, the unworthy duke of Mecklenburg, and Anna, married to the last of the Kettler family, Frederick William, duke of Courland.[1] Anna was, at this conjuncture, a widow, and the reigning duchess of Courland. She resided in great privacy at Mitau with her paramour, Ernest von Biron, the grandson of a hostler, whose wife she retained near her person as a cloak to their intercourse. The weakness of Anna's conduct had pointed her out as a proper tool to the old Russian faction, as a puppet in whose name they could reign. These expectations were, however, deceived; Anna, on mounting the throne, discovered the utmost energy and decision, intrusted the administration of the empire to Germans distinguished for talent, and humbled the old Russian faction among the nobility. Biron, whom she created duke of Courland, was, it is true, a better lover than statesman, but she repaired that weakness by placing an intelligent theologian, Ostermann, a native of Mark, who had been compelled to flee his country on account of a duel, and who had been the instructor of her youth, at the head of diplomatic affairs, and Münnich, a nobleman from Oldenburg, who had fought at Malplaquet and had afterward planned the great Ladoga canal at Petersburg, a man remarkable

[1] On the occasion of this wedding, Peter the Great had all the dwarfs in his immense empire collected. There were seventy-two of them. The two ugliest were compelled to marry, and the ceremony was performed amid the jokes and jeers of the assembled court.

for energy and activity, at the head of the army. Both these men followed in the footsteps of Peter the Great, snatched Russia from her ancient state of incivilization and developed her immeasurable power without regard for the injury they might thereby inflict upon their native country. Münnich, by the expulsion of Stanislaus Lescinsky, first rendered Poland dependent upon Russia. He also gained great victories over the Turks and Tartars and extended the southern frontier of Russia. An insurrection of the Russian nobility against his rule and that of Ostermann was powerfully and prudently quelled, and was punished by numerous executions and sentences of banishment.

The Russian nobility speedily revenged themselves on the death of Anna in 1740. Anna's sister, Catherine, duchess of Mecklenburg, left a daughter Anna, who married Antony Ulric, duke of Brunswick. Her son, Ivan, then two months old, was elected czar and placed under the guardianship of Biron and of the German faction, but, in the following year, the Russians raised Elisabeth, the youngest daughter of Peter the Great, to the throne, banished all the Germans, Biron, Ostermann, Münnich, and even the unoffending duke, Antony Ulric, to Sibera, and allowed the youthful Ivan to pine to death in prison. Elisabeth, who inherited the coarseness without the virtues of her father, gave way to the most revolting excesses and placed the administration in the hands of the old Russian faction.[1] She was succeeded, A.D. 1762, by her nephew, Peter III., the son of her sister, Anna, and of Charles Frederick, duke of Holstein-Gottorp. Peter was a German both by birth and education and an enthusiastic admirer of Frederick the Great. The German exiles were instantly recalled from Siberia. During Biron's banishment,

[1] Among the soldiers of the guard, all of whom were her paramours, and to whose attachment she mainly owed her elevation to the throne, there were, however, two Germans, the musician, Schwartz, and the subaltern, Grundstein, whom she especially favored. They were ennobled, raised to high rank and granted immense possessions, but were afterward banished. A German valet named Sievers was also created count of the empire and supreme court marshal.

Charles of Saxony had been raised by Russian influence to the government of Courland. The favors showered by Peter upon the Germans, numbers of whom he invited into the country for the purpose of bestowing upon them the highest offices in the army and in the state, rendered him hateful to the Russian nobility. The despotic temper he had inherited from his grandfather and his contemptuous treatment of his consort, Catherine, Princess of Anhalt-Zerbst,[1] raised enemies around his person, and Catherine, an imperious and ambitious woman, placed herself at the head of the conspirators, took him prisoner and poisoned him, A.D. 1762.[2] She mounted the throne of Russia under the name of Catherine II., surrounded herself with Russian and German talent, and, in imitation of Frederick the Great, played the philosopher while enacting the despot. Her most celebrated ministers and generals were at the same time her lovers; still, notwithstanding her licentious manners, she had a highly cultivated mind (she corresponded by letter with the most distinguished savants and poets of Europe), and discovered equal energy and skill as a diplomatist. By the partition of Poland, by fresh conquests on the Turkish frontier, and by her encouragement of civilization in the interior of her unwieldy empire, she increased the power of Russia to an extraordinary degree, and for this purpose made use of a multitude of Germans, who unceasingly emigrated to Russia, there to seek their fortune. Among others, her cousin William Augustus, duke of Holstein-Gottorp, studied navigation on board the Russian fleet, but, falling from the

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[1] An alliance had formerly been attempted to be formed between him and Amelia, the daughter of Frederick William I. of Prussia, but had been prevented by the declaration of that king that he should deem himself dishonored by her adoption of the Greek faith.

[2] She had borne him a son, whom he refused to acknowledge, and who first mounted the imperial throne as Paul I., on the death of his mother. He married, A.D. 1776, the Princess Dorothea Augusta Sophia of Würtemberg, who, on her marriage, was rebaptized by the Greek church, Maria Federowna. She became the mother of the emperors Alexander and Nicolas, of the granddukes Constantine and Michael, of Catherine, queen of Würtemberg, and of Anna, Princess of Orange.

masthead, when sailing in the Baltic, was drowned, A. D. 1774. Noble German families from Esthonia and Courland took their place beside the ancient Russian nobility in all offices civil or military. German savants guided the internal civilization of the empire, her academies, her mines, that ever fruitful source of Russia's wealth. German intelligence was in every direction actively employed in molding the rude natural powers of the country and of the people into a fearful weapon against Germany.

The German element still continued to preponderate in the German provinces on the Baltic, Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland, which, either at an earlier or at the present period, fell under Russian rule. The civil privileges of the cities, particularly those of Riga, solely underwent a change. The constitutions of the free towns ill accorded with the Russian mode of government, and, A.D. 1785, were forcibly exchanged for the political and financial regulations of the governors. The nobility alone retained the whole of its ancient privileges, owing to the predominance of the aristocratic as well as that of the autocratic principle in Russia. A revolt of the Lettish peasantry, who had imagined that the new crown-tax, imposed upon them by the government, was intended to liberate them from their ancient obligations to the native German nobility, was suppressed by force, A.D. 1783. Even under the reign of the emperor Alexander, Baron Ungern-Sternberg, an Esthonian noble, followed the profession of the robber-knights of old, by means of false signals drew ships upon sandbanks and rocks, pillaged them, and murdered those of the crew who escaped drowning. He was at length captured and condemned to the mines.[1]

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[1] Vide Petri, Pictures of Livonia and Esthonia, a rich source of information concerning those countries.

CCXLI. *The Minor German Courts*

While Austria and Prussia pursued a new political path under Joseph and Frederick, the courts of minor importance persevered for the greater part in their ancient course, or sought to heighten the luxury they had learned from Louis XIV. by imitating the military splendor of Frederick II. The predilection of the Prussian monarch for the French language had, moreover, brought it, together with French manners and customs, into vogue at all the German courts and among the whole of the German nobility. Every young man of family was sent to Paris to finish his education, to be initiated into every description of vice, and to acquire *bon ton*, as it was termed, all of which they were assisted on their return in disseminating throughout Germany by French ambassadors, spies, teachers of French and dancing, barbers, and governesses.[1] The use of the German language was considered a mark of the lowest vulgarity. French alone was tolerated. And it was by this perverted, unpatriotic nobility that the weak princes were led still further astray and Germany was misgoverned.

Augustus III. and Bruhl had, after the peace of Hubertsburg, returned to Saxony, where, unmoved by the sufferings of the people during the war, they continued their former luxurious habits. Their first business was a splendid representation of Thalestris, an opera composed by the Princess Maria Antonia. Augustus was succeeded, A.D. 1763, by Frederick Augustus, a prince morally well-disposed, whose sole noxious amusement was his passion for the chase, so detrimental to the peasantry. He was also devoid of the ambitious pretension of grasping at the crown of Poland.

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[1] The French governesses reproved their German pupils with, "fi, on vous prendroit pour une Allemande," or said in their praise, "c'est un trésor que la Demoiselle. Elle ne fait pas un mot d'Allemand."

The court was, nevertheless, kept up from habit on its former extensive scale, while the diet merely served as a protection to the overdrawn privileges of the nobility.

Among the Saxon duchies, Weimar presented an honorable contrast with almost all the other petty states. The Duchess Amalia and her son, Charles Augustus, formed a court, like that of Hermann, the venerable Landgrave of Thuringia, an assemblage of *beaux esprits*. Here Wieland, Herder, Gœthe, Schiller, resided beneath the most liberal patronage ever granted to the children of song. Ernest, duke of Gotha, although also highly refined in his tastes, dwelt in greater seclusion. The dukes of Coburg and Hildburghausen were overwhelmed with debt.

In Bavaria, the emperor, Charles VII., left a debt of forty millions. Maximilian Joseph was, on the contrary, extremely economical, permitted Sterzinger to attack superstition, the Illuminati to spread enlightenment, and attempted to simplify the law by the introduction of Kreitmayr's new criminal code, which was, however, still too deeply imbued with blood. But, while Thürriegel, the Bavarian, transformed the Sierra Morena in Spain from a wilderness into a fertile province, the soil of Bavaria still lay partially unreclaimed. The bad government also recommenced under her next sovereign, Charles Theodore, who mounted the Bavarian throne, A.D. 1777. This prince had, at an earlier period, held a splendid court at Mannheim. He established the first German theatre. French theatres and Italian operas had been hitherto solely patronized by the German courts. He also greatly enriched the picture gallery at Düsseldorf. His luxury was embellished by taste. He succeeded to Bavaria in his fifty-third year. In order to satisfy his predilection for the Rhine, he offered his new possession for sale to Austria, and, on finding himself compelled to retain it, transported his luxurious court from Mannheim to Munich. Rumford, an Englishman, embellished the latter city and was the inventor of the celebrated soup, named after him, for the poor, which had become indeed necessary, the misery of the people

being considerably increased by the badness of the government. A Countess Törring-Seefeld was the favorite of the elector, who was, moreover, governed by his confessor, the ex-Jesuit, Frank, who also conducted the great persecution of the Illuminati. Appointments were shamefully sold; brutality and stupidity were the characteristics of the ruling powers; the oppression was terrible. The elector was compelled to undertake a petty campaign against a bold robber, the notorious Hiesel, one of those spirits called forth by tyrannical stupidity on the part of a government.—The Pfalzgraf Charles, of the collateral line of Pfalz-Zweibrücken, commonly resided on the Carlsberg near Zweibrucken, where he kept fifteen hundred horses, and a still greater number of dogs and cats, which required the attention of a numerous household. He collected upward of a thousand pipe-heads and innumerable toys. Every passer-by was compelled to doff his hat on coming in sight of the Carlsberg; a foreigner, ignorant of the law, was, on one occasion, nearly beaten to death.

In Wurtemberg, the duke, Charles Eugene, reigned from 1744, when he attained his majority, until 1793. He was, in many respects, extremely remarkable. Learned, and gifted with taste and talent, he was the slave of luxury and vice. He spent enormous sums on the army. He sought to unite Louis XIV. and Frederick II. in his own person. Educated in the academy of Frederick the Great at Berlin, he was, on account of the excellency of his conduct, declared by that monarch fit to assume the reins of government, in his seventeenth year; but he had no sooner returned to Stuttgard than, with his friend Count Pappenheim, he committed the most boyish acts of folly, rousing the inhabitants with false cries of alarm during the night, and throwing hoops over the heads of those who ventured to peep from their windows, etc., etc. Frederick II. had bestowed upon him the hand of his niece, Elisabeth Frederica Sophia of Baireuth, notwithstanding which Charles embraced the imperial cause during the seven years' war, in order to bribe the empress

and the imperial Aulic council to overlook the crimes committed by him against his country. He also, at that time, accepted enormous sums of money from France, trusting to whose support he divorced his guiltless consort on a craftily laid charge of infidelity. A certain Rieger led him to expend immense sums on military show. The best artists of Rome and Paris, Jomelli, Noverre, Vestris, were in his salary. He built the Solitude, in which he placed a complete and separate establishment, with a church, etc., on a forest-grown mountain, and rendered the whole year a succession of fetes, operas, ballets, grandes battues, etc., etc. Montmartin, the prime minister, a Frenchman, who treated the servile Germans with the scorn they so richly merited, extorted their money by the most barefaced exactions of every description, by taxes, by the sale of public offices, and was faithfully aided by Wittleder, a Thuringian, who had come into the country as a Prussian subaltern to give lessons in drilling, and had become director of the ecclesiastical council and enriched himself with plundering the property of the church. This wretch, who was authorized to sell all civil appointments, for which he was to receive ten per cent, usually said to the applicant, "Give the duke five hundred florins and me one thousand!" In order to render this source of revenue still more lucrative, he created a number of new appointments and rendered affairs so uselessly complex that the Wurtemberg system became henceforward a proverbial nuisance.

Wurtemberg still possessed her ancient provincial diet, but its power was sadly crippled. A select committee had seized the whole control over the affairs of the state, which it administered in secret without rendering an account to the people. Montmartin's order to the provincial collectors, Hoffmann and Stäudlin, to deliver up to him the whole of their funds, first roused them to opposition. The duke, however, surrounded the house of assembly with his troops and seized the whole contents of the treasury, A.D. 1758. The author of the submissively couched protest of the diet, the provincial

councillor, John Jacob Moser, the best head and the honestest man in the country, was arrested, and pined unheard for five years in the fortress of Hohentviel. Montmartin declared to the Estates, "that the duke was far too lofty-minded ever to allow laws to be prescribed to him by people like them." He established a great lottery, A.D. 1762, compelled the people to purchase tickets, and sent two hundred lots for sale to the diet, and, on its protesting against it, the drawing of the lottery was, in defiance, fixed to take place within the house of assembly. He finally projected an income-tax, which drew at least fifteen kreutzers[1] annually from the most indigent among the population, and rose at an equal ratio. Huber, the grand bailiff of Tubingen, protested against this imposition. A deputation of the citizens hastened into the duke's presence and represented to him the misery of the country. His only reply was the exclamation, "Country! what country? I am the country!" and an order for the instant march of several regiments into Tubingen. Huber and the most respectable among the citizens were carried prisoners to the citadel, and the tax was levied by force. The Estates carried their complaint before the supreme court of judicature, and, owing to the energetic support granted to them by Frederick II., gained their cause. The duke was sentenced by the imperial Aulic council instantly to liberate Moser, to desist from every species of violence, and within the space of two months to enter into a constitutional agreement with the Estates. Moser was set at liberty.[2] The duke instantly took his revenge on the city of Stuttgard, which had sided with Tubingen, by migrating, A.D. 1764, with his whole court to Ludwigsburg, where he remained for several years, deceiving the Estates with mock promises while endeavoring, by means of Montmartin, whom he despatched for that

[1] About fivepence English money.—*Trans.*

[2] Dann of Tübingen and other members of the diet having attempted to bring the committee of the Estates to account for its former secret and arbitrary proceedings, concerning which Moser had it in his power to give full information, the committee dreaded his liberation and would willingly have prevented it.

purpose to Vienna, to give a more favorable turn to his cause. He was, however, finally compelled to obey the decision of the Aulic council. Montmartin and Wittleder were dismissed; the latter was, moreover, deprived of a large sum of money; the theatrical corps was reduced to one-half, and some other trifling modes of economy were resolved upon. The hereditary compact, as it was termed, was at length concluded, A.D. 1771; by it, the power of the duke was for the future to be restrained within constitutional limits; all the servants of the state were to be sworn on the constitution; the nomination of foreigners to public posts was to be avoided; the ancient mode of taxation and the church property were to be restored; the army was to be diminished; several noxious monopolies and the lotteries were to be abolished; the game-laws to be restricted; and, on the other hand, the forests, which had been dreadfully thinned, to be spared. The duke, nevertheless, refused to accede to this compact or to return to Stuttgard until the Estates and the city had each presented him with a sum of money. He had, moreover, little intention to keep the terms of compact. Money was again extorted, the depredations countenanced by the game-laws were carried to a greater extent than ever; every transgression was, however, winked at by the committee, which dreaded the convocation of a new diet, by which its power would be controlled. For twenty years the diet had not sat, and the committee poured into the ducal coffers all the money that could be drawn from the country, and, among other things, paid the duke fifty thousand florins on condition of his not forming a matrimonial alliance with an Austrian princess. He contracted a left-handed marriage with Francisca von Bernedin, whom he created Countess von Hohenheim, and, on his fiftieth birthday, A.D. 1778, promised in a naïve proclamation, which was read from every pulpit in his dominions, henceforth to lead a better life and to devote himself solely and wholly to the welfare of his subjects. The committee, deeply moved by his protestations, instantly voted him a sum of money, with which

he built the magnificent château of Hohenheim for his bride. Records of every clime and of every age were here collected. A Turkish mosque contrasted its splendid dome with the pillared Roman temple and the steepled Gothic church. The castled turret rose by the massive Roman tower; the low picturesque hut of the modern peasant stood beneath the shelter of the gigantesque remains of antiquity; and imitations of the pyramids of Cestius, of the baths of Diocletian, a Roman senate-house and Roman dungeons, met the astonished eye. The pious-minded prince also established a new lottery, and, A.D. 1787, in order to raise funds, sold a thousand of his subjects to the Dutch, who sent them to the Indies, whence but few of them returned. They were, moreover, cheated of their legal pay. The sale of public appointments also recommenced. The duke had, since 1770, occupied himself with the Charles College, so called after him, where the scholars, who were kept with military severity, received excellent instruction in all the free sciences. This academy produced many men of talent. The curse of tyranny, nevertheless, lay over the country, and one of the students belonging to the academy, the great Frederick Schiller, grew up in hatred of the yoke and fled. Schubart, an older and equally liberal poet, was treacherously seized and confined by the duke for ten years on the Hohenasberg.

In Baden, the Margrave, Charles Frederick, became celebrated for the mildness and beneficence of his government. He abolished feudal service A.D. 1783.

In Hesse-Cassel reigned the Landgrave Frederick, who sought to raise Cassel to a residence of the first rank, erected palaces and châteaux, laid out pleasure-grounds, founded academies, immense museums, etc., and was ever in want of money. Among other public nuisances, he established a lottery, and, after draining the purses of his miserable subjects, enriched himself by selling their persons. In 1776, he concluded a treaty with England, by which he agreed to furnish twelve thousand Hessians for the service of her

colonies.[1] Hesse-Cassel, at that period, merely contained four hundred thousand inhabitants. English commissioners visited Cassel and examined the men purchased by their government, as if they had been cattle for sale. The complaints of parents for the loss of their sons were severely punished, the men were imprisoned, the women sent to the penitentiary. This human traffic was also carried on during the reign of George William, Frederick's son and successor. The last Hessians sent to the colonies were four thousand in number, A.D. 1794. The celebrated Seume relates in his biography: "No one was at that time safe from the understrappers of this trafficker in the bodies and souls of men. Every means were resorted to: persuasion, cunning, fraud, violence. Foreigners of every sort were seized, thrown into prison, and sold. My academical inscription, the only proof of my legitimation, was torn to pieces." Seume was sent out of the country with the Hessians to fight for England against the Americans during the war of independence. His daily recreation, the study of Horace, attracted the attention of his superiors and he was made sergeant. An enthusiastic republican, he was compelled to serve against those who so gloriously asserted their freedom and their rights.—Hanau also furnished one thousand two hundred; Waldeck, several hundred German slaves; Wurtemberg, Saxe-Gotha, and the bishop of Munster followed their example. Louis IX. of Hesse-Darmstadt, the best drummer in the holy Roman empire, expired, A.D. 1790.

Frederick, Margrave of Baireuth, expended the whole

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[1] "Almost all the princes are *marchands d'hommes* for the powers that pay them highest for the men and take them on the easiest conditions."—*Mémoires de Feuquières.* "A couple of a thousand years ago it was said of the Tyrians, 'that their merchants were princes.' We can say with equal truth, 'our princes have become merchants, they offer everything for sale, rank, decorations, titles, law, and justice, and even the persons of their subjects.' "—"There is a Hessian prince of high distinction. He has magnificent palaces, pheasant-preserves at Wilhelmsbad, operas, mistresses, etc. These things cost money. He has, moreover, a hoard of debts, the result of the luxury of his sainted forefathers. What does the prince do in this dilemma? He seizes an unlucky fellow in the street, expends fifty dollars on his equipment, sends him out of the country, and gets a hundred dollars for him in exchange."—*Huergelmer.*

revenue of his petty territory in building, in theatres, and fetes. Frederick II., his brother-in-law, on viewing the splendid plan of the Hermitage, observed, "In this I cannot equal you." He died, A.D. 1763, without issue, and Baireuth fell to Alexander, Margrave of Anspach, who was completely governed by his mistress, an Englishwoman, Lady Craven, and who sold fifteen hundred of his subjects to England for colonial service. On their refusal to march, he sent them out of the country in chains. His frequent travels, in which he was accompanied by Lady Craven, cost the country enormous sums, and he at length first secretly, then openly, ceded the whole territory, together with its inhabitants, to Prussia. The Margraviate would, on account of the failure of legitimate issue, independently of this cession, have reverted to the Prussian line. The excellent administration of the minister, Hardenberg, had, since 1792, consoled the people for the miseries they had so long endured.

Charles, duke of Brunswick, who reigned during the seven years' war, was a spendthrift, paid Niccolini, the ballet-master, a salary of thirty thousand dollars, sold his subjects, and was ever on bad terms with his Estates. His brothers, Anthony Ulric, who espoused a niece of Anna, empress of Russia, and whose son mounted the Russian throne, Louis, who acquired such unpopularity in Holland, and Ferdinand, the great leader in the seven years' war, gained greater celebrity. Two of his brothers also fell during the seven years' war, Albert at Sorr, Frederick at Hochkirch. His sister, Elisabeth Christina, was consort to Frederick I. His son and successor, Ferdinand, who had greatly distinguished himself in the field, introduced a better system. His refined and cultivated mind and benevolent heart rendered him the idol of the Freemasons, who elected him their grand-master in Germany. His court was constantly visited by foreigners of note. He, however, evinced too great partiality for the French.[1] He also sold, owing to his connection

[1] On one occasion, his table being solely occupied by French guests, one of them impudently told him that he was the only foreigner present.

with England, four thousand men for her colonial service. His brother, Frederick Augustus, came into possession of Œls in right of his wife, a princess of Wurtemberg. His second brother, Leopold, was drowned, A.D. 1785, in a flood at Frankfort on the Oder, while nobly attempting to save the lives of the citizens.

England raised troops in Hanover and sent four thousand men to Gibraltar, while the Germans, purchased from Hesse, etc., were despatched to the East Indies, there to gain ungrateful laurels in the war with Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saib. Hanover was governed by Field-marshal Freitag, who introduced English Toryism into Germany and gave the first example of the ministerial and aristocratic pride, now almost, as it were, hereditary in that state. Zimmermann, a Swiss physician, a man distinguished hitherto for the liberality of his opinions, was transformed into a servile critic. His other distinguished compatriots, John Muller and Girtanner, also sold themselves, body and soul, to the despotic foreigner. The elector, George III., sat on the throne of England, the slave of insolent ministers and of a factious mob. His life was often attempted by madmen. His own mind became at length affected. He was also afflicted with a hereditary disorder in the eyes, and, after having for some time discovered indubitable signs of mental derangement, entirely lost, A.D. 1811, his eyesight and his senses.[1] He lived until 1820 in complete seclusion, his son George, who succeeded him as George IV., the finest gentleman, the most immoral character, and the greatest monarch of his times, governing in his stead as Prince Regent.

Oldenburg ceased, A.D. 1773, to be a province of Denmark and became one of Russia, the Holstein-Gottorp branch of the ancient house of Oldenburg, reigning in Russia, ceding Holstein in exchange to the branch of that house on the

[1] His mental malady, which had been for some time suspected, was placed beyond all doubt by his address to the House on opening parliament, which he gravely commenced with the words—"My lords, gentlemen, and woodcocks, cocking up your tails!" and proceeded without a single deviation through the remainder of the speech.

throne of Denmark. Oldenburg was created a duchy by the Russian czar, and declared the hereditary property of Frederick Augustus, prince of Holstein. Germany suffered another loss by the reannexation of Holstein to Denmark. Peter, the only son of the duke, was tormented by religious scruples and fled from his bride, the Princess Sophia of Darmstadt, on their wedding-day. He became completely deranged, and was finally compelled to yield the reins of government to his cousin, Peter Frederick Louis.

The most terrible abuses were committed in the minor states, where they attracted less notice. Count William von Schaumburg-Lippe, who gained great distinction as field-marshal in the Portuguese service and was in his own country honored as the father and benefactor of his people, offers an honorable exception. The rest of the petty princes imitated the extravagance of their more powerful neighbors. Frederick Augustus of Anhalt-Zerbst dissipated the revenue of his petty territory in France, never returned home, and forbade, under pain of punishment, petitions to be sent to him. Haase, the privy-councillor, governed in his stead, and shamelessly defrauded the people by artfully multiplying his offices to such a degree that Sintenis, the author, for instance, was compelled to appeal from Haase, the privy-councillor, through Haase, the privy-councillor, to Haase, the privy-councillor. He also sold twelve hundred men for the service of the English colonies. Frederick Augustus, on learning the execution of the French king, refused to take food and died in great mental agony. In Anhalt-Bernburg, the peasantry rebelled on account of the devastation caused by the strict protection of the game, A.D. 1752. Charles William of Nassau beat a peasant, accused of poaching, to death with his own hand, and was in consequence banished by Joseph II. for some years from his own dominions.

The follies perpetrated in almost all the petty countships, several of which were gradually raised to principalities, are perfectly incredible. Barons of the empire even held a petty court and aped the pretensions and titles, nay, the military

show of their powerful neighbors. A Count von Limburg-Styrum kept a corps of hussars, which consisted of one colonel, six officers, and two privates. There were court-councillors attached to the smallest barony belonging to the empire, and, in Franconia and Swabia, the petty lords had their private gallows, the symbol of high jurisdiction. These vanities were however expensive, and the wretched serfs, whose few numbers rendered the slightest impost burdensome, were compelled to furnish means for the lavish expenditure of their haughty lords.[1]

The ecclesiastical courts had long fallen into the lowest depths of depravity. Their temporal luxury had increased. Frederick Charles, of the family of Erthal, elector of Mayence, acted the part of a Leo X., patronized the arts and sciences, but lived so openly with his mistresses that Mayence, infected by the example of the court, became a den of infamy.[2] The ecclesiastical princes plainly perceived the impossibility of the restoration of ancient episcopal simplicity, and, unconscious of their approaching fall, pursued a common plan, that of rounding off their territories (Cologne had already annexed to itself Munster; Mayence, Worms;[3] Treves,

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[1] Vide the account of these miniature courts in Weber's Democritus.

[2] "Incredible things take place here in Mayence. A prize thesis, in proof of the excellency of celibacy, has just been proposed by a prince, around whose throne stand three mistresses."—*Letters of a travelling Dane.* "I saw the elector in his box at the theatre, surrounded by ladies in full dress, whom I was told were actually court-ladies, court-ladies of an archbishop!—On Dalberg's nomination as coadjutor to the archbishopric, a triumphal arch was erected in his honor with the inscription 'Immortalitati' in a transparency. Either accidentally or purposely the letter *t* in the third syllable was omitted."—*Travels of a French Emigrant.* "On the publication of Heinse's obscene romance, Ardinghello, the archbishop sent him twenty louis d'or, and appointed him his lecturer. A Jew at Mayence kept a subscription library, full of the most immoral and licentious works, under the protection of the police."—*Remarks on a Journey from Strasburg to the Baltic.* The archbishops were kept in countenance by the aristocratic canons, who accumulated benefices to such a degree that one of the provosts of the cathedral, for instance, a Count von Elz, drew an annual income of seventy-five thousand goldens from the church. The Favorite, a chateau built in the French style, was erected by the elector Lothar Francis von Stadion.—*Lang's Travels on the Rhine,* 1805.

[3] In this city there was not a pretty girl who had not been either "niece or sister" to some ecclesiastic. The peasants here also rebelled on account of the game-laws. Vide Travels of a Female Emigrant.

Augsburg,[1] and Wurzburg, Bamberg), and, as a next step, declaring themselves, like the Gallic church, independent of Rome. Since the expulsion of the Jesuits, they had the imperial house (in Cologne, Joseph's brother Maximilian became, A.D. 1780, coadjutor and shortly afterward archbishop elector) and the enlightenment of the age, moreover, on their side. As early as 1763, Hontheim, the suffragan-bishop of Treves, had, under the name of Justus Febronius, published a work "concerning the state of the church and the legal power of the pope," which had excited general attention, and, A.D. 1785, the German archbishops in the congress of Bad Ems had, notwithstanding the opposition raised by Pacca, the papal legate (the same who, at a later period under Napoleon, accompanied the pope into exile), attacked the primacy of Rome, the false decretals of Isidore, and all the rights so long exercised by the pope over the German church, on the grounds set forth in that work. Eybel's work, "Quid est Papa?" was condemned by a papal bull.

The ecclesiastical states were, if possible, worse administered than the temporal ones. The proverb "It is good to dwell beneath the crosier" was no longer verified. The people were oppressed and reduced to the most abject poverty. The bishop of Munster sold his subjects to heretical England. And yet this bishop, Francis Frederick William von Furstenberg,[2] was celebrated for his learning and founded the Munster university, A.D. 1773, at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits. The Baron von Brabeck, a member of the diet, opposed the bad government of Francis Egon, Count von Furstenberg, of the Swabian line, Bishop of Hildesheim, but was persecuted as a revolutionist. The bishop of Spires, who was on bad terms with his chap-

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[1] A governor of Augsburg arrested all pedestrian travellers and sold them to the Prussian recruiting sergeants.—*Schlözer.*

[2] Of the Westphalian baronial family. He published the Monumenta Paderbornensia immediately on his nomination to the bishopric of Paderborn. Schlözer quotes a curious episcopal rescript of 1783, concerning the preservation of game and the punishment of poachers.

ter, constantly resided at his château at Bruchsal.' The bishop of Liege was expelled by a popular outbreak, caused by the great revenue drawn by him from the gaming tables established at Spa—a scandalous mode of increasing his income, against which the Estates had vainly protested. Philip, elector of Treves, built, A.D. 1763, the château of Philippsfreude, besides the sumptuous residence at Coblentz. Clement Augustus, the luxurious archbishop of Cologne, built the royal residence at Bonn, the châteaux of Poppelsdorf, Bruhl, and Falkenlust. His successor, Maximilian Frederick, expended the confiscated wealth of the Jesuits more usefully in the foundation of an academy. Bonn remained, notwithstanding, the abode of luxury. The last elector, Maximilian Francis, brother to Joseph II., kept one hundred and twenty-nine chamberlains.—Joseph, bishop of Passau, one of the Auersperg family, built a theatre and the château of Freudenhayn, where he expired, A.D. 1795. The French clergy were still more depraved. Cardinal Rohan, bishop of Strasburg, carried an innocent girl away from her parents and kept her, together with several others, imprisoned in his harem at Zabern. She escaped, and, although a regular search after her was set on foot throughout the country, did not again fall into his hands. The matter, however, excited such general indignation that he was compelled to take refuge in Paris, where he courted the queen, Marie Antoinette, and was mixed up with the celebrated story of the necklace.[2] The whole of the upper clergy battened on the sufferings of the people. The popular saying, "Where you see people with their clothes worn out at the elbow, you are on church property; where you see people with their clothes worn out beneath the arm, you are in a temporal state," truly tells the difference existing between temporal and ecclesiastical principalities.—The statistics of the monasteries abolished by Joseph II. demonstrate how the monks

[1] "Never was a shepherd less careful of his flock, never was there a flock less attached to its shepherd!"—*Travels of a Female Emigrant.*

[2] See Riem's Journey through France.

and nuns feasted on the sweat of the people. In the Clarisser nunnery were found nine hundred and nineteen casks of wine, in the Dominican nunnery at Imbach three thousand six hundred and fifty-five, and in the establishment of canonesses at Himmelporten as many as six thousand eight hundred. The people in the ecclesiastical states were totally uneducated, stupid, and bigoted. In 1789, the populace of Cologne attempted to assassinate all the Protestant inhabitants on account of the intention of the imperial Aulic council to grant to them liberty of conscience.—Frederick, duke of York, the second son of George III. of England, was, A.D. 1764, when six months old, created bishop of Osnabruck, which was alternately governed by a Catholic and a Lutheran bishop. During his administration, a socman was condemned to draw the plow for life for having ventured to box a steward's ears for taking his affianced bride from him by force and bestowing her on another.[1]

Alsace and Lorraine fell beneath the intolerable despotism exercised by the French court in unison with the degenerate clergy and nobility. Strasburg was, in the most shameless manner, plundered by the pretor, Klinglin. On the visit of Louis XV., A.D. 1744, to that city, he compelled the citizens to paint, ornament, and illuminate their houses, to wear curious uniforms, according to their rank and trades, arranged the women and children in fantastical troops of shepherdesses and Swiss, caused the fountains to flow with wine, and strictly prohibited the presence of sick, diseased, or poor persons, for the purpose of impressing the monarch with the wealth and prosperity of the people. Schopflin, the author of *Alsatia illustrata*, had on this occasion the meanness to address the cowardly, dull-witted, luxurious king, who, to the scandal of his subjects, was openly accompanied by his mistress, the Marquise de Pompadour, and whose unprincipled government mainly brought about the French Revolution, as "the father of the country, the patron of the

[1] See Schlözer's State Archives.

muses, the liberator of Alsace, and a great hero." Friese, in his excellent history of Strasburg, exclaims, "The fine, honest character of the people of Strasburg had within the last sixty-three years (the period of their submission to the French yoke) indeed deeply degenerated!" The whole of the festivities on the occasion of this royal visit were at the expense of the impoverished city, which, moreover, paid an annual tax of one million livres to the royal exchequer. Klinglin and Paul Bek, the administrators of the public revenues, also filled their own purses, sold the town property, the forests, appointments, and justice to the highest bidder, and were at length only dismissed from office by the skill with which Gail, the mayor, Faber, the chief magistrate, and other patriotic citizens, took advantage of a dispute between the minister, d'Argenson, with Sillery, the intendant of Alsace. Klinglin died in prison, A.D. 1753; Bek was branded and sent to the galleys.

Lorraine, Alsace, Switzerland, and Holland were not only excluded from the rest of Germany, but the states still appertaining to the empire were also closed one against the other. Bad roads,[1] a wretched postal system,[2] senseless prohibitions[3] in regard to emigration or to marrying out of the country, as, for instance, in the bishopric of Spires, and, more than all, the incredible number of inland duties, checked the natural intercourse of the Germans. From Germersheim to Rotterdam there were no fewer than twenty-nine custom-houses, at all of which vessels were stopped for dues; between Bingen and Coblentz alone there were seven.

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[1] From Stuttgard to Tübingen, now half a day's post, two days were formerly requisite. People prepared with the greatest anxiety for a journey to the nearest towns. Bad roads and overturned carriages play a prominent part in the romances of the time.

[2] Vide the complaints concerning it in Schlözer's state-papers.

[3] For instance, in Bavaria. Whoever attempted to induce others to emigrate was hanged, 1764.—*History of Nuremberg.*

CCXLII. *The Last Days of the Empire*

THE dissolution of the German empire approached. The princes, powerful or weak, great or petty, had each assumed sovereign sway. The bond of union between them and the empire became daily more and more fragile. Ratisbon, although still the seat of the diet, was no longer visited by the emperor or by the princes. All affairs of moment were transacted by the courts of Vienna, Berlin, Munich, etc.; the members of the diet occupied themselves with empty formalities, such as precedence at table, the color, form, and position of their seats in the diet, concerning which no fewer than ten official documents, in settlement of a dispute, appeared in 1748. At a congress held at Offenbach, A.D. 1740, the petty princes made an unsuccessful attempt to place themselves on an equality with the electors and to interfere with the election of the emperor. The collegium of the imperial free towns, whenever it ventured upon opposition, was generally outvoted at the diet by those of the princes and electors, and had lost all its influence. Wetzlar was still the seat of the imperial chamber, which was also far from guaranteeing the slightest legal protection to the German people, and which became gradually more completely absorbed with formalities, in proof of which a single example suffices, the lawsuit brought before it, A.D. 1549, by the city of Gelnhausen, which was not terminated until 1734. Cramer has filled one hundred and twenty-eight volumes (Wetzlar Leisure-hours) with the most important lawsuits of the empire, which are only striking on account of their extreme unimportance. The same may be said of the imperial Aulic council at Vienna. Prince Colloredo, the imperial vice-chancellor, when complaints against the unjust imprisonment of Moser, the councillor of the diet of Wurtemberg, were brought before the imperial chamber, sent directions to Wetzlar for their suppression.[1] The imperial Aulic council

[1] Moser, Political Truths.

was equally suborned; in 1765, one of the members declared at Prince Colloredo's table, "that no proceedings could be taken against Louis IX., Landgrave of Hesse, for the sake of a couple of Frankfort merchants." All the complaints made against this luxurious despot by his creditors were, in fact, unheeded, nor was it until 1779 that his creditors were half satisfied by a composition. When, in 1729, the youthful son and heir of one of the lords of Aufsess in Franconia was carried by force to Bamberg and by threats and ill-treatment compelled to embrace Catholicism, his mother, who had narrowly escaped sharing his fate, filled the empire with her cries for justice and vengeance, the imperial Aulic council passed a verdict in her favor—which was never carried into effect. Joseph II., moved by the petitions of his people, was the first who attempted to restore power and dignity to the general courts of judicature throughout the empire, but his intended visitation fell to the ground, and all remained as before. The imperial army, an assemblage of small, and extremely small, contingents, had, more especially since the seven years' war, naturally become an object of ridicule. A petty prince or count furnished the lieutenant, another the captain, a monastery furnished the horse-soldier, a nunnery the horse; a most remarkable diversity in weapons and uniforms naturally resulted from the subdivision of the empire into petty states.

The power no longer lay in the organization of the empire and with the Estates, but solely in the new principalities and their bureaucratic governments. All the great states of Germany were first formed on a French, afterward on a Prussian model. From Louis XIV. the princes learned despotism, the art of rendering the Estates, the nobility, the church, and the cities subservient to their will; from Frederick II. they acquired a regulated form of government, the art of concentrating the power of the state in the finances and in the army, in which the French system was far surpassed by that of Prussia. In France, the convenient system of farming the state prevailed; all the offices of state

were either sold or farmed, which consequently gave rise to a competition, that raised the prices of the offices, between the government and the officers, who sought to reimburse themselves by increasing the burdens of the people. In Germany, the more honest, but at the same time more troublesome, system of control prevailed. The systematic love for detail characteristic of the German gave rise to that artificial bureaucracy or supremacy of the clerk's office, which, under the name of the strictest justice, has perhaps proved the most oppressive of tyrannies. The ministry, actuated by a pure love of justice or by paternal solicitude, ere long sought to know and to guide everything from the palace down to the lowest peasant's hut; the want of money also obliged them to make themselves acquainted with, to watch, and to tax the smallest source of private revenue; these systematic heads were ere long merely occupied with regulating and filling in their registers, as if the state solely existed in their tables, and finally, increasing political agitation heightened the power of the police, by whom the system of espionage was carried to the greatest extreme.

Besides the new and Argus-eyed governments, shadows of diets still existed in Wurtemberg, Saxony, Mecklenburg, Anhalt, Lippe, and Reuss. The nobility were everywhere still extremely powerful, but solely by means of the posts held by them at court, in the government and army. Their personal privileges had increased at the expense of their political and corporate rights. The cities had also lost all political power, but the citizens had begun by their talents to gain an influence in the service of the state. The peasantry were almost more oppressed by the new system of taxation than they had formerly been by the nobility, and were universally poor and harassed; the government, nevertheless, gradually released them from their feudal bonds, promoted the progress of enlightenment, and by so doing prepared them for a complete emancipation from their yoke.

The church played a most lamentable part. While in the Catholic, more particularly in the petty states, the influence

of the Jesuits was preserved by the childlike piety and superstitious belief of the people, by fetes and processions, mummeries, etc.,[1] the ecclesiastical princes, as has been already shown, gave way to the most open profligacy, and Rome was deprived of her ancient support in the German empire by the abolition of the order of Jesus, by the reforms of Joseph II., and by the congress of Ems. The church had never been so powerless.—The princes exercised increased jurisdiction over the Lutheran and Reformed churches within their demesnes. The sovereign possessed the *jus majestaticum circa liturgiam*, that is, the triple right; first, of granting the free exercise of religion according to a certain confession of faith, the *jus concedendi;* second, of internal inspection (*inspectio*); third, of external protection (*advocatio*).

In Lutheran Saxony, where the sovereign belonged to the Catholic, in Lutheran Prussia, to the Reformed, church, these princes for some time granted, from a political motive, full liberty to the Lutheran clergy, and, in order to avoid raising any unnecessary excitement among the people, but little interfered with ecclesiastical affairs. The new system

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[1] The largest collection of these religious mummeries is to be met with in the numerous works of the Illuminati and in Weber's "Germany." Religion had degenerated to childish ceremonies. The Mother of God was dressed up like a doll in order to appear in gala on festive occasions. Pretty girls appeared on asses in processions as living Madonnas, and doves were let loose in the churches as living representatives of the Holy Ghost. On the great pilgrimages of the people of Mayence, Fulda, and Eichsfeld, to Waldthüren, the priest bearing the pyx was received with due solemnity by a well-dressed angel, who delivered an oration.—*Schlözer's State Archives.* In 1790, the procession of blood, an ancient ceremony performed by all the authorities and inhabitants of the neighborhood, was solemnized at Constance; seven thousand horsemen, bearing naked swords and rosaries, accompanied a drop of the Saviour's blood around the fields for the purpose of preserving them against injury from the weather. Vide Swabian Mercury, 1838. Religious comedies with allegorical representations, pilgrimages, processions of brotherhoods in honor of particular saints, were all calculated upon as means of working upon the senses of the multitude, who, on these occasions, usually gave way to unbounded license. The pilgrimages were especially notorious for immoral results. The numerous, well-fed, and idle clergy contrived by means of ceremonies of this nature to creep into houses and to seduce the innocent and unwary. No domestic affair could be arranged without the interference of a priest. They blessed the stable, the table and the bed, the field and the cattle, even the daily food, etc., etc.

had, however, scarcely come into play, than Frederick William I. made a powerful attack upon the church, convoked a synod of the whole of the Prussian clergy, A.D. 1737, at Köslin, regulated the Lutheran service by cabinet orders, abolished the use of tapers, white dresses for the choristers, etc., the collection of money within the church; placed restrictions on the administration of the holy sacrament, as, for instance, to the impenitent, and even prescribed rules for preaching. The whole of his decrees were calculated for the promotion of religion and morality. His son, Frederick II., acted with equal despotism but with a contrary purpose. His object was to relax, not to heighten, religious austerity. With this intent, he neutralized one confession of faith by the other by tolerating them all and by encouraging modern French infidelity by his known principles and by his writings. With this intent, he abolished his father's ordinances, permitted all who chose to carry tapers and to wear white robes, while all confessions were equally the objects of his ridicule. On the introduction of a new psalm-book, against which several of the communes protested, by the consistory in 1780, he wrote, "Everybody may do as he chooses in this matter; every one is at liberty to sing, 'Now may all the forests rest,' or any other silly thing that may suit his taste." With this intent, he abolished public penance in churches, and essentially restricted the power of the church in awarding punishment in cases of immorality. With this intent, he diminished the number of church festivals, notwithstanding the few that still remained, and, in order to prevent the clergy from ever again becoming an obstacle in his way, gave them a new constitution, by which their collegiate ties were dissolved, which isolated and placed them under the control of a supreme consistory entirely dependent upon the crown. The lower clergy were also utterly demoralized by the system of patronage. The candidate served for years as a tutor, bore every species of humiliation, and was finally rewarded by the gift of a living on the property of his noble patron. The new pastor was often compelled to bind himself

to make a transfer of the property and privileges attached to the living. As early as 1558, consequently in the earliest period of the Reformation, one of the church ordinances in Brandenburg ran as follows: "Some of the noble patrons not being in the habit of keeping a pastor, a portion of the revenue of the living must, in consideration thereof, be kept back for them," etc. This briefly explains the poverty of the majority of the livings.[1] The custom was also introduced by the licentious nobility of disposing of their cast-off mistresses together with a living or of attaching the gift to the hand of the widow or daughter of the deceased pastor, in order to spare themselves the inconvenience of providing for her maintenance. In 1746, the following oath was, at Hildburghausen, imposed upon the clergy on their installation into a living, "I swear that, as a means of gaining this appointment, a certain woman has not been offered to me in marriage." The lower clergy, notwithstanding their oppressed state and their poverty, have, however, generally maintained their reputation, and by their piety and morality frustrated the attempts made to reduce them to the lowest depths of degradation, in the same manner that the people have never been wholly perverted by the pernicious example of their rulers.—Among the Lutheran states, Wurtemberg was chiefly distinguished for the comparative independence of her clergy, who, reared from early youth in monastic academies, and, lastly, in the college at Tubingen, formed a class, at once influential on account of its learning and corporative spirit, and on account of the church property it still possessed. It was represented in the diet by fourteen prelates.

The dead-letter spirit, which had become prevalent among the Protestants, which had again degraded theology to mere scholasticism and had not only maintained but strengthened the ancient superstition of the crowd, as, for instance, in respect to witchcraft, had gradually vanished as knowledge was increased by the study of the classics and of natural

[1] Concerning the State of Religion in the Prussian States. Leipzig, 1779.

philosophy. Halle became for this second period of the Reformation what Wittenberg had been for the first. As Luther formerly struggled against the monks and monkish superstition, Thomasius, A.D. 1728, combated Lutheran orthodoxy, overthrew the belief in witchcraft, and reintroduced the use of the German language into the cathedral service, whence it had long been expunged. He was succeeded, A.D. 1754, by the philosopher, Wolf, the scholar of the great Leibnitz, who beneficially enlightened the ideas of the theological students. Before long, neology or the critical study of the Bible, and a positive divinity, which sought to unite the Bible with philosophy, prevailed. The founders of this school were Michaelis at Gottingen, Semler at Halle, and Ernesti at Leipzig. Mosheim at Berlin and Gellert at Leipzig greatly elevated the tone of morality. Spalding[1] already attempted to check the erratic progress of enlightenment. Voltaire's lampoons against Christianity had at that period spread over Germany, and Berlin had become the elysium of free-thinkers. Besides Frederick, Lessing exercised great influence on this party. Nicolai, the noted Berlin bookseller, in his Universal German Library, began a criticism upon all the works published in Germany.[2] Shortly before this, Thummel had, also at Berlin, brought forward the degraded state of the Protestant clergy in his excellent poem "Wilhelmina"; Nicolai continued the subject in a romance, "Sebaldus Nothanker," in which he gave a masterly description of the state of the Protestant church at that time and excited a feeling of hatred and contempt against the reigning consistories, with which the wearing of perukes was, among other things, a point of high importance. The Catholic clergy had disdained their adoption; their Protestant brethren, however, opposed them in this as in all other mat-

[1] John Joachim Spalding, a celebrated Swedish divine and author, born 1714. He wrote several able works: the "Destination of Man"; "Religion the Most Important Affair of Mankind," etc. Died 1804.—*Maunder's Biographical Treasury.*

[2] This work was continued forty years, though Nicolai ceased to edit it at the end of the hundred and seventh volume, in 1792.—*Trans.*

ters, and no Lutheran preacher consequently durst make his appearance in public unperuked. Heaps of controversial works were published on this subject.—Mauvillon, Wunsch, and, more especially, Paalzow, wrote with great fanaticism against the Christian religion. Schummel, at Breslau, warned against free-thinking in a romance, entitled "The Little Voltaire," which affords a deep insight into the wild confusion of ideas at that time prevalent, and describes the writings, secret societies, and intrigues of the free-thinkers. Barth, at Halle, by means of his popular works, attempted to spread among the people the ideas at that time convulsing the learned world, but was with his Rationalism, which he sought to set up in opposition to Christianity, too shallow and coarse to be attractive.

Liberty of thought had degenerated to free-thinking, and, like every abuse, speedily produced a reaction. John Arndt, a native of Anhalt, published his popular treatise "On true Christianity," in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The learned divines were, notwithstanding, first led to teach a religion of the heart, instead of inculcating a mere dead-letter belief, by Spener, who, A.D. 1670, founded a *collegium pietatis* at Frankfort on the Maine, and, A.D. 1705, was appointed chaplain to the court at Dresden and provost at Berlin. He replaced Christian love on her rightful throne, and to him is the Protestant church far more deeply indebted than to the philosophers of the day, although his fine and comprehensive ideas were carried but little into practice. He demanded toleration of every confession of faith and their union by Christian love; he rejected the sovereignty assumed by the state over the church as well as the authority of the consistories and faculties, and aimed at the emancipation of the Christian commonwealth.[1] His followers, the Pietists, who have been greatly calumniated, were grievously persecuted on account of their extravagant tendencies. One of their number, Gichtel, the proctor of the imperial chamber, founded the sect of the Engelsbruder. Hoburg, the Ana-

[1] Vide Hossbach, Spener.

baptist, Petersen, the polygrapher, the ill-fated Kuhlmann, who attempted to blend all religions into one and was burned alive at Moscow, A.D. 1689, and several female seers drew general attention. Franke, the worthy founder of the orphan school at Halle, followed in Spener's steps. Pietism took a peculiar form at Herrnhut, where Count Zinzendorf founded a new church of love and fraternity, the members of which obeyed particular laws and wore a particular dress. The gentleness and simplicity of this community strongly contrasted with the wild license prevalent in Saxony during the reign of Augustus, the reaction to which had given them birth. They termed themselves the Moravian Brethren, some remnants of the ancient Hussites having passed over to them. The accession of numbers of Bohemians belonging to the Lichtenstein estates drew a reclamation from the Saxon government. A number of the Bohemians took refuge in Prussia, and Zinzendorf, who was banished from Saxony for ten years, established himself in the ancient Ronneburg in the Wetterau. By his conference with Frederick William I., who learned to esteem him highly, by his connection with several other religiously inclined persons of high rank, the Counts Reuss and Dohna, the lords of Seidlitz in Silesia, etc., by his frequent travels and his extreme prudence, he, nevertheless, speedily succeeded in regaining his former footing. As early as 1733, he sent numbers of pilgrims into distant countries for the purpose of propagating religion and of converting the heathen. He twice visited the savages of North America as a missionary. The resolute piety, which induced so many homely artificers to quit all for the sake of propagating the gospel amid the snows of Greenland and Lapland, or in the burning climes of the East, where they succeeded in converting great numbers, affords at once a touching and instructive lesson. By means of their colonies, they formed important commercial connections, created a market for home produce, and, by the credit they acquired by their reputation for the strict uprightness of their dealings, gained immense riches. Their prosperity put their

opponents to the blush; they were ridiculed and esteemed. Spangenberg succeeded Zinzendorf as head of the society, whose members are said to have amounted, at the commencement of the present century, to half a million. Their principal towns are Herrnhut, Barby, Neuwied, and Ziest near Utrecht; most of those of lesser note are distinguished by religious or biblical names, such as Gnadenberg (*Gnade*, grace), Gnadenfeld, Gnadenfrei, Gnadenhutte, Gnadenau, Friedenthal (valley of peace), Friedenberg, etc., Bethlehem, Nazareth, Salem, Bethany, etc. The childlike simplicity and gentleness of the Herrnhuters highly recommended them as instructors of the female sex, and, even at the present day, families, not belonging to their society, send their daughters to be educated in these asylums of innocence and piety.—Pietism spread simultaneously into the Bergland, where it still flourishes in the Wupperthal.

CCXLIII. *The Liberal Tendency of the Universities*

In proportion as the universities shook off the yoke imposed by theological and juridical ignorance (*vide* the trials for witchcraft), the study of philosophy, languages, history, and the natural sciences gained ground. A wide range was thus opened to learning, and a spirit of liberality began to prevail, which, as the first effect of its cosmopolitan tendency, completely blunted the patriotic feelings of the German, by rendering his country a mere secondary object of interest and inquiry.

The struggle between modern ideas and ancient usage began also in the lower academies. Rousseau proposed the fundamental transformation of the human race and the creation of an ideal people by means of education. John Bernard Basedow attempted to put his novel plans of education into practice by means of the seminary, known as "the Philanthropinum," established by him at Dessau, in which many excellent teachers were formed, and by which great good was effected. Basedow, nevertheless, speedily became bankrupt,

to the great delight of the pedants. Salzmann, in his academy of Schnepfenthal near Gotha, stands almost alone in his plan for uniting physical exercise with mental improvement for the attainment of practical ends, for rendering the student a useful citizen, not a mere bookworm. Rochow published his celebrated "Children's Friend," which, together with Gellert's Fables, became a favorite book for the instruction of youth, and involuntarily compelled teachers not merely to inculcate blind belief and to enforce the study of the dead languages, but also to form their pupils' minds by awakening the imagination and strengthening their moral feelings by good examples. This literary attempt, however, speedily degenerated; Weisse published at Leipzig a large "Children's Friend" in twenty-four volumes, for children of good families, full of unchildlike absurdities. Campe, by his "New Robinson Crusoe,"[1] estranged the rising generation in their early childhood from their country, and inspired them, perfectly in accordance with the spirit of the times, with a love of enterprise and a desire to transfer their energies to some foreign or far-distant land. Funke taught everything by rote, and smothered originality by assiduously teaching everything, even how to play. In the popular schools, the catechism, and in the learned academies, grammatical pedantry, were, nevertheless, still retained. The best description of the state of the schools in Germany, during the latter part of the past century, is to be found in Schummel's "Pointed Beard." The new plans of education adopted by a few private establishments and recommended in the numerous new publications on the subject more particularly owed their gradual adoption to the tutors, who, in their freer sphere of action, bestowed their attention upon the arts most useful in practical life, and, out of respect for the parents, introduced a more humane treatment of the children. The biography of "Felix Kaskorbi," a tutor aged forty, graphically depictures the torments to which he and

[1] Which was founded on the popular work of Defoe.—*Trans.*

his colleagues were often exposed in their arduous and useful calling.

Private and individual efforts would, however, have but little availed without the beneficial reformation that took place in the public academies. In England, the study of the ancient classics, so well suited to the stern character and liberal spirit of the people, had produced men noted for depth of learning, by whom the humanities and the spirit of antiquity were revived. Their influence extended to Hanover. At Gottingen, Heyne created a school, which opposed the spirit to the dead letter, and, in the study of the classics, sought not merely an acquaintance with the language but also with the ideas of ancient times, and Winckelmann visited Italy in order to furnish Germany with an account of the relics of antiquity and to inspire his countrymen with a notion of their sublimity and beauty. The attention of the student was drawn to mythology, to ancient history, and an acquaintance with the lives of the ancients led to the knowledge of modern history and geography.

The study of history became universal. The history of the world succeeded to the records of monasteries, cities, and states. The first manuals of universal history were, it must be confessed, extremely dry and uninteresting, while the great historical dictionaries of Iselin,[1] etc., and the collections of histories of all the nations of the earth, either translated or continued from the English, in which Schlozer[2] already discovered excessive sceptical severity, were, on the other hand, abundantly copious. Ecclesiastical history was also briefly and clearly reviewed by Spittler, and elaborately continued by Mosheim, Schrokh, Plank, etc. Arnold[3] published an excellent history of the heretics and of different sects. The first geographical antiquities are collected in the Chronicon Gottwicense; the best maps were given by Homann. The systematic books of instruction in geography by Hubner,

[1] Professor of history and antiquities at Marburg. Born at Basel, 1681.—*Trans.*
[2] Professor of philosophy and politics at Göttingen. Born 1737.—*Ibid.*
[3] Professor of poetry, history, and rhetoric at Altorf. Born 1627.—*Ibid.*

Busching (to whom the science of statistics is greatly indebted), Hassel, Mannert, etc., were afterward continued on a more extensive scale. The newspapers also increased in importance. The Frankfort Journal was commenced, A.D. 1615, by Emel, and was followed by the Postavise and the Fulda Postreuter. The Hamburg Correspondent was first published in 1710. The history of the day was continued from 1617 to 1717, in the Theatrum Europeum, commenced by Gottfried; in the Diarium Europæum of Elisius (Meyer), from 1657 to 1681; Valckenier het verwaerd Europa, from 1664 to 1676, continued by A. Muller; Cramer's History, from 1694 to 1698; Lamberty's Memoirs, from 1700 to 1718; the Mercure Historique, Bousset, recueils des actes, from 1713 to 1748. The Frankfort Reports and the new Historical Gallery opened at Nuremberg between the thirty and seven years' wars. The great collection of treaties of Du Mont, from 1731 to the year 1800; the lesser one of Schmauss; that of Wenk up to 1772; the European Fama, up to the seven years' war. Schulz of Ascherode, from 1750 to 1763; Count Herzberg, from 1756 to 1778. Dohm's Memorabilia, from 1778 to 1806; Gebhard, recueil des traites de 1792 to 1795. Koch and Schöll, histoire des traites, up to 1815.

For German history in particular much was done first of all by the great collections of the ancient unprinted chronicles, the *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, made by Eccard, Hahn, Leibnitz, Ludwig, Lünig, Lundorp, Meichelbek, Menken, Rauch, Schannat, Schilter, Schottgen and Kreusig, Senkenberg, Sommersberg, etc.; by the glossaries of Scherz and Haltaus, by the collection of old German laws by Georgisch, etc.; by the histories of the empire by Struve, Häberlin, Pütter, etc. The first voluminous history of Germany was written by Schmidt, an enlightened Catholic. Maskou produced an excellent work on the ancient histories of Germany. The best provincial histories were that of Croatia by Valvasor, of Carinthia by Megiser, of Styria by Cäsar, of Bohemia by Pelzel, of Transylvania by Schlözer, of Silesia by Klöber, of Prussia by Petri and Baczko, of Saxony by

Weisse, of Anhalt by Bekmann, of Thuringia by Falkenstein, of Brunswick by Rehtmeyer, Spittler, of Westphalia by Justus Möser, of Holstein by Christiani, of Ditmarsch, by Dankwerth, Bolten, of Friesland by Wiarda, of the circle of the Saal by Dreihaupt, of Alsace by Schöpflin, of Wurtemberg by Sattler, of Switzerland by Tscharner, John Muller, etc.; John Muller attempted a style in imitation of Tacitus and introduced a bombastical affected manner, which created more astonishment than admiration. He, moreover, solely aimed at representing the Swiss as totally distinct from the rest of the great German nation, as a petty nation fallen as it were from the skies, and by so doing gave rise to a number of other provincial histories, which rendered every petty principality in Germany unconnected with the history of the empire, and described them as having been eternally independent and isolated. Provincial feuds and neighborly hatred were by this means fed.—Pollnitz, Wackerbarth, Frederick the Great, his sister, the Margravine of Baireuth, Dohm, Görtz, Schmettau, and Schulenburg wrote their memoirs.—There were also numerous histories of towns, as, for instance, that of Spires by Lehmann, of Dantzig by Curiken, of Augsburg by Stetten, of Ratisbon by Gemeiner, of Magdeburg by Rathmann, of Strasburg by Friese, of Berlin by an anonymous author, published 1792, of Breslau by Klose.

The Dutch took the lead in political science. As early as 1638, Althausen laid the *majestas populi* down as a principle, and Hugo Grotius laid the first foundation to the law of nations. In Lutheran and Catholic Germany, on the other hand, merely "works on the Art of Government," "Mirrors of Honor," etc., were published, in which the adulation prevalent in France was zealously emulated, and the whole of ancient Olympus was plundered for the purpose of adorning each sacred allonge-peruke with emblems and divine attributes. The jealousy between the houses of Hohenzollern and Habsburg, nevertheless, permitted Pufendorf, a Brandenburg privy-councillor, to commence a tolerably liberal criticism on the German constitution, in which he was speed-

ily imitated by the Prussians, Cocceji and Gundling. J. J. Moser took a still more independent view of the reigning political evils in Germany and Schlözer was, shortly anterior to the French Revolution, equally liberal in his state-papers. The learned Putter at Göttingen was more a historical than a political writer, and, generally speaking, the literature of the day rarely touched upon the political misfortunes of Germany. In proportion as the empire lost one province after another were the people gradually deprived of their ancient privileges, still no one spoke, and the additional burdens on the peasantry, the increased taxation, the sale of men for service in the Indies, the inactivity of the provincial Estates, etc., excited as little discussion as the impudent seizure of Strasburg.—Heineccius and Bohmer, in Austria, Sonnenfels, who aided Joseph II. in his reforms, were distinguished professors of jurisprudence.

The study of mathematics was greatly promoted by Leibnitz, the inventor of differential calculus, and was carried to higher perfection by Lambert of Alsace, by the family of Bernouilli of Basel, Euler, etc. The Germans made great discoveries in astronomy. Scheiner, A.D. 1650, discovered the spots in the sun; Hevel, A.D. 1687, and Dorfel found out the paths of the comets; Eimmart of Nuremberg measured several of the fixed stars. Herschel, born A.D. 1740, ob. A.D. 1822, discovered, with his giant telescope in England, A.D. 1781, the planet Uranus, nebulous stars, planetary nebulæ, etc. Huygens improved the telescope, Lowenhoek and Hontsoecker the microscope (in Holland). Lieberkuhn of Breslau invented the solar microscope; Tschirnhausen, burning-glasses; Snell discovered the laws of refraction. The study of physics was greatly promoted by Otto von Guericke, burgomaster of Magdeburg, A.D. 1686, the inventor of the air-pump and of the electrifying machine; by Sturm, A.D. 1703, the founder of experimental physics; by Fahrenheit, who, A.D. 1714, invented the thermometer; by Kircher, the inventor of the speaking trumpet; by Hausen, Wilke, Cunäus, Muschenbroek, who improved the electrifying ma-

shine. Among the chemists, before whose science alchemy fled, Glauber, who gave his name to a celebrated salt, Becher, Stahl, Brand, the discoverer of phosphorus, and Gmelin, merit particular mention. Werner acquired great note as a mineralogist in Saxon Freiburg at the close of the eighteenth century. Botany was industriously studied by Haller of Switzerland, Volckamer of Nuremberg, etc.; Rumpf's "Herbarium Amboinense" contains the most valuable botanical collection of this period. Klein, the noted travellers Pallas, Blumenbach, and Bechstein, were celebrated as zoologists. The first great physiological periodical works were the curious Medic. Phys. Ephemeridæ, written in Latin, in which Christian Mentzel, the celebrated linguist and naturalist, private physician to the great elector, diligently recorded his observations; and the "Breslau Collections."

Geography and natural history were greatly promoted by travels undertaken for scientific purposes. Reinhold and George Forster accompanied Cook round the world, A.D. 1772. The noted traveller, Kämpfer, went with the Dutch to Japan, A.D. 1716. Montanus, Neuhof, etc., wrote accounts of the Dutch embassies to China, whence much information was also sent by the Jesuits,[1] among whom, Tieffenthaler, the Tyrolese, gained great fame at the commencement of the eighteenth century by being the first, and, up to the present period, the only European who travelled overland from China to India, and who first saw the Dawalagiri, the highest mountain in the world. Carsten Niebuhr was the most celebrated among the travellers in Persia and Arabia. Pallas and Gmelin explored Siberia. Samuel Theophilus Gmelin, the noted naturalist, nephew to the abovementioned botanist and geographer, travelled for the empress Catherine II. of Russia. While travelling, A.D. 1774, in Tartary, he was thrown into prison by one of the chiefs, who demanded thirty thousand rubles for his ransom, which

[1] Jesuits have continually distinguished themselves at Peking as Mandarins, guardians of the observatory and presidents of an academy of sciences, as, for instance, Goggeisl, 1771, and again, in 1780, Father Hallerstein of Swabia.

Catherine refused and he died in prison. Egede and Kranz, Herrnhut missionaries, have given an account of icy Greenland, Dobrizhofer, the Jesuit, another of torrid Paraguay, etc.

In pharmacology the Germans have done more than any other nation; after them, the Dutch. Helmont, although not free from the alchemical prejudices of his age, did much good by his dietary method, all diseases, according to him, proceeding from the stomach. Hermann Boerhaave, the most eminent physician of his time, encouraged by the anatomical discoveries of Lowenhoek and Ruysch, carefully investigated the internal formation of the human body in search of the primary causes of diseases, but was led astray by the mechanical notion that all diseases originated in the improper circulation or diminution of the humors of the body.[1] In Germany proper, medicine was not brought to any degree of perfection until a later period. Frederick Hoffman, in pursuance of the system of Leibnitz, ascribed all diseases to motion and treated them simply as cramps. His suggestions greatly advanced the science of pathology. Stahl, the Pietist, opposed this mechanical theory and founded a mystical system, which recognized the soul as forming the strength of the body, the blood as the eternal foe of the divine power inherent in man, and therefore recommended its constant restriction and purification by means of bleeding. Albert von Haller, the poet and naturalist, brought forward the system of nervous pathology, which was carried still further by Christopher Louis Hoffman, who ascribed all diseases to the dissolution of the solids by the corruption of the humors. Stoll, the empiric, opposed the whole of these theories, and was the first who noted the impossibility of accounting for the diseases by which nations were visited in various climes and at various periods; he, nevertheless, chiefly considered the gall bladder as the seat of infection, which he sought to palliate by the use of emet-

[1] Boerhaave's numerous works are, nevertheless, still regarded as text-books by the profession; his knowledge as an anatomist, chemist, and botanist, as well as of the causes, nature, and treatment of diseases, was unrivalled.—*Trans.*

ics. Reil practiced a more refined empiricism.—The discovery of animal magnetism by Mesmer, A.D. 1775, was an important one, not only in medicine, but more particularly in psychology. It was first studied as a science by John Frederick Gmelin, professor of chemistry and natural history at Gottingen, and has since engaged the attention of numerous physicians and psychologists. A miraculous property has been attributed to this discovery, which is certainly one of the most extraordinary ever made in inventive Germany. Sommering was the most eminent of the German anatomists. Gall gained a transient fame by his novel phrenological ideas, and Lavater of Zurich by his science of physiognomy. The belief in apparitions was again spread throughout the Protestant world by this pious enthusiast and by Jung Stilling, while Father Gassner, at the same time, about 1770, inspired the Catholic population of Upper Swabia with terror by his exorcism.

Philosophy gave, however, at that period, the tone to learning. The eighteenth century was termed the age of philosophy, being that in which the French began in their Encyclopedia to regard all human knowledge in an independent point of view, neither ecclesiastical nor Christian. The Germans, although borrowing their frivolous mock-enlightenment from France, imitated the English in the serious study of philosophy and philology. Under the protection of the king of England, the Baron von Leibnitz, the celebrated mathematician and philosopher, shone at Hanover, like Albertus Magnus, in every branch of learning. His system was a union of the Christian mysticism of former times and of the scholastic scientific modern philosophy, the result of the study of mathematics and of the classics. According to him, an infinite number of worlds are possible in the Divine comprehension; but, of all possible ones, God has chosen and formed the best. Each being is intended to attain the highest degree of happiness of which it is capable, and is to contribute, as a part, to the perfection of the whole. The gradual deviation of philosophy from Christianity and

the increasing similarity between it and heathenism were in accordance with the spirit of the age. In 1677, Spinosa, the Dutch Jew, reproduced, with subtle wit, the old doctrine of the mystic, Valentine Weigel, concerning the original contradictions apparent in the world, which he explained, not by a Christian idea of love, but by a mathematical solution.[1] Leibnitz had numerous followers, among whom, Bilfinger attempted by pure mathematical reasoning, unaided by revelation, to explain its most inexplicable secret, the origin of evil, and Wolf converted his master's theories into a convenient scholastic system, completely devoid of mysticism and merely retaining the ideas consonant with the doctrine of common Rationalism. He gained immense fame by his opposition to the orthodox theologians. Mathematical reasoning was certainly useful for the proper arrangement of ideas, but was essentially devoid of purport. In England, it led to mere scepticism, to a system of doubt and negation, whence, instead of returning to the study of theology, the English philosopher turned to a zealous research in psychology, in which they were imitated by the Germans, Platner, Reimarus, Mendelssohn, the physician Zimmermann, etc.; all of whom were surpassed by Kant in 1804, at Konigsberg, in his "Critical Inquiry into the Nature of Pure Reason," which contains a critical analysis of every mental faculty. His influence over his fellow countrymen was unlimited, owing to his placing reason above all else, while he, at the same time, strongly marked the moral necessities and duties of man, and paid homage to the enlightenment, then in general vogue, and to moral sobriety, the permanent national characteristic of the German.

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[1] Spinosa renounced the Jewish religion for that of Calvin. He afterward became a Mennonist, and at last fell into the most dangerous scepticism, if not downright atheism.—*Trans.*

END OF VOLUME THREE